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Political Affairs

Soviet Union

Political Affairs

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**NKAO Soviet of People's Deputies Ispolkom
Chairman Replaced**

18300239 Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian
29 Apr 88 p 2

[Unattributed report: "Oblast Soviet Session"]

[Text] A session of the Nagorno-Karabakh Oblast Soviet of People's Deputies was held, at which a report by the oblast ispolkom concerning its 1987 activities was heard.

An organizational issue was examined at the meeting. V.V. Osipov was relieved of his duties as chairman of the oblast soviet ispolkom in connection with his transfer to another position. Sh.M. Petrosyan, deputy chairman of the oblast soviet ispolkom, will serve as interim oblast ispolkom chairman.

Nagorno-Karabakh Obkom. First Secretary G.A. Pogosyan spoke at the meeting.

**BSSR Chief Signs Supreme Soviet Deputy's
Obituary**

18000340 Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA in
Russian 1 Apr 88 p 3

[Unattributed obituary]

[Excerpts] On 29 March 1988 Nikolai Ilich Pakhomov died suddenly at the age of 69. From 1943, he was a member of the CP Central Committee, deputy of the Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, state pensioner, participant in the Great Patriotic War, and professor and former rector of the Minsk Higher Party School.

N.I. Pakhomov was born in 1919 in the village of Volshchina, Gorodokskiy rayon, Vitebsk Oblast. He began his career in 1935 with Vitebsk area publishing organs. During the Great Patriotic War he took an active part in the partisan movement in Gomel Oblast and was political instructor of the intelligence service of K.Ye. Voroshilov detachment and editor of the underground oblast newspaper GOMELSKAYA PRAVDA. From 1943 to 1951 he was editor of the Rechitskiy rayon newspaper and editor of the oblast newspaper GOMELSKAYA PRAVDA.

Upon completing the CC CP Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences in 1954, N.I. Pakhomov worked as the head of the department of the Fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism at the Gomelskiy Pedagogic Institute and the editor of the oblast newspaper VITEBSKIY RABOCHIY; thereupon, for 12 years, he was the secretary of the Vitebsk Obkom of the BSSR CP. From 1968 on, for the 17 years preceding his retirement in 1985, he headed the Minsk Higher Party School collective.

N.I. Pakhomov conducted active public-political work; he was repeatedly elected member of the BSSR CP Central Committee and BSSR Supreme Soviet deputy for the 8th through the 11th convocations.

For services rendered to the fatherland, he was awarded an Order of the Patriotic War of the 2nd degree, two Orders of the Red Banner of Labor, an Order of the Friendship of Nations, an Order to the Red Star, two Orders of the "Badge of Honor" and many military and labor medals.

[Signed] Ye.Ye. Sokolov, V.G. Baluyev, V.I. Boris, N.I. Dementey, V.G. Yevtukh, N.S. Igrunov, V.F. Kebich, M.V. Kovalev, Yu. B. Polokolov, M.I. Lagir, V.A. Lepeshkin, A.A. Malofeyev, V.A. Pechennikov, G.S. Tarazevich, Yu. M. Khusainov, V.M. Shuralev, V.I. Goncharik, V.V. Gurin, V.V. Grigoryev, A.S. Kamay, V.P. Khomchenko, V.A. Boytsekhovskiy, V.A. Zhagora, V.A. Lazko, V.G. Skopa, F.F. Kobayak, G.N. Kopev, V.D. Morozov, Ya.S. Pavlov, A.N. Sirotskiy, V.V. Shinkarev

**UkSSR Supreme Soviet Discusses Ties With
Ukrainian Emigres**

18000360 [Editorial Report] Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian on 2 March 1988 carries on page 3 a 600-word report on a regular meeting of the UkSSR Supreme Soviet Commission on Foreign Affairs, chaired by Deputy A.V. Merkulov. A.M. Zlenko, UkSSR Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs gave a summary of the work conducted by the UkSSR delegation to the 42nd session of the UN General Assembly. Taking part in the discussion was S.V. Danchenko, UkSSR delegate to the 42nd session of the UN General Assembly. It was noted that the delegation worked assiduously to implement the foreign policy decisions of the 27th Party Congress. The delegation's work facilitated the General Assembly's resolution to "create an all encompassing system of international peace and security" as well as the "opening up of new possibilities for the development of international relations based on trust and cooperation among nations."

The question of UkSSR ties with Ukrainians abroad was discussed. V.Ya. Brovchenko, chairman of the Ukraina Society, an organization whose purpose is to maintain cultural ties with Ukrainians living abroad, spoke at the meeting. It was noted that the Republic's citizens actively cooperate with representatives of Ukrainian ethnic groups living abroad.

Thousands of emigres and their offspring visit the Republic yearly. The number of young people of Ukrainian descent studying or training in the Republic is growing. The Republic is making preparations to mark the 100-year anniversary of the first Ukrainian emigration to Canada, as well as other notable events in the life of fellow countrymen abroad.

With the participation of the Ukraina Society, regular cultural contacts are kept up with countries in which there are sizeable Ukrainian populations. According to the article, contacts with educational and scientific institutions are flourishing.

The Commission stated the absolute necessity of broadening contacts with fellow countrymen abroad. It was suggested to the UkSSR Ministry of Higher and Middle Special Education, UkSSR Ministry of Culture, UkSSR Goskino, UkSSR Goskomizdat, and the UkSSR Gostelradio, as well as other ministries and departments, that they step up their efforts in assisting public organizations in their cooperation with foreign partners and increase their contributions to satisfy the cultural requirements of Ukrainians abroad.

Secretary of the UkSSR Supreme Soviet N. G. Khomenko and the heads of a number of Republic ministries, departments and organizations took part in the Commission's work.

UkSSR Council of Ministers Deputy Chairman Retires

18000350A [Editorial Report] Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian on 5 April 1988 carries on page 3 a 25-word

notice that the UkSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has relieved A.Z. Khomich, deputy chairman of the UkSSR Council of Ministers, from his responsibilities for reasons of health.

Poltava Oblast Personnel Changes Noted

18000350B [Editorial Report] Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian on 7 April 1988 carries a 75-word report of an organizational session held by the Poltava Oblast Council of Peoples' Deputies on 6 April. It was noted that in light of A.S. Myakota's election to the post of Poltava Obkom first secretary, he has been relieved of his duties as chairman of the oblispolkom. I.A. Gopey has been elected chairman of the oblispolkom in Myakota's place. I.A. Gopey is a Poltava Obkom secretary.

A.S. Myakota, Poltava Obkom first secretary, and N.G. Khomenko, UkSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium secretary, spoke at the session.

**UzSSR: More Aggressive Counterpropaganda
Against Foreign Influence Urged**

18300229 Tashkent *KOMMUNIST UZBEKISTANA* in
Russian No 2, Feb 88 pp 63-68

[Article by V. Voytenko, USSR Journalists' Union; Yu. Lodeyshchikov, candidate of juridical sciences; and Yu. Chufarovskiy, candidate of psychological sciences: "Make Counterpropaganda More Aggressive and Effective"]

[Text] Profound mastery of the ideology and traditions of the working class and its ethical values is the touchstone of the solid ideological tempering of the Soviet people, their high political consciousness, their preparedness, their will and their ability to resolve the problems of accelerating the country's socio-economic development and restructuring all aspects of social life. The formation of the qualities cited is a matter of exceptional significance. It is supported by the entire system of ideological and political influence, of which counterpropaganda is an integral part. Lenin considered it one of the most subtle and skillful means of ideological influence. He taught us to skillfully expose bourgeois propaganda, and to consider the conditions and peculiarities of the historical factor in carrying out this work.

Counterpropaganda is the sum total of organizational, ideological-educational and socio-political measures for counteracting the hostile ideology and politics of the bourgeois by means of imbuing the Soviet people with communist convictions, ideological stability, political vigilance, and the ability to expose the ideological diversions of imperialism. Counterpropaganda is also directed against manifestations of views alien to socialism encountered in Soviet society.

Being an integral part of the ideological and mass political activity of the CPSU, counterpropaganda work is carried out in consideration of the entire aggregate of conditions of the domestic life of our country and the contemporary international situation. It is the fault of imperialism, which by virtue of its class nature continually produces bellicose and adventurist policies, that world tensions have not been reduced. Its "psychological warfare" against the USSR and other socialist countries has become a peculiar form of aggression which tramples upon the sovereignty, history and culture of nations.

Gathering strength in its attempts to "shake loose" and "undermine" the ideological foundation of true socialism, bourgeois propaganda strives to discredit the Soviet state and social system, to render a negative influence on various strata of the populace, to foist apolitical feelings and social passiveness on certain ideologically unstable individuals, and to force them into antisocial positions. Everything is subordinated to putting bourgeois and petty bourgeois ideas into their minds, and then to try to tear them away from socialism. Therefore there is not a single word from the Western radio voices that does not

contain a certain ideological charge, that is not diversionary by nature, that does not attempt to exert a crippling influence on anyone who chances to tune into the hostile frequency.

The Soviet people understand well enough the base purposes of the subversive activities of the class enemy. However, wherever there are shortcomings in educational work or a relaxation of vigilance on questions of formulating the peoples' world-view, loopholes may appear through which ideas alien to socialism might penetrate. Incorrect views or delusions of certain people, and warped interpretations or commentaries on one fact or another served up by bourgeois propaganda appear at times not because the adversary has displayed his "arts," but because of an insufficient level of political knowledge, or political short-sightedness, or because a class approach to the analysis of social phenomena is lacking. It is precisely on this that the apologists of imperialism stake their claim. Therefore, the CPSU has established the task of continually improving ideological-educational work, perfecting the system of political education of the workers, and reaching every citizen.

In recent years the class enemy has noticeably stepped up and expanded the conduct of ideological diversion against Soviet Central Asia. The subversive radio broadcasts of the Voice of America and Radio Liberty in the languages of the native peoples of the Central Asian republics, crudely distorting and falsifying Lenin's national policy, are attempting to depict it as the "Russification" of the national languages and national cultures. The religious and nationalistic content of these broadcasts is increasing significantly.

One of the trends of Western propaganda is the conduct of long-term political-ideological campaigns, closely associated with the foreign policy course of the imperialist states. Among these, large-scale demarches on the imaginary "Soviet military threat," or on the "participation of the Soviet Union in international terrorism" are especially noticeable today. The propagandistic hullabaloo around the "defense of human rights in the USSR" is unabating, and bourgeois ideologues are finding it increasingly difficult to conceal its provocative nature. And the apologists of imperialism are trying to attribute the course taken by our party for acceleration and restructuring to a "crisis of the Soviet economy."

The purpose of all of these propaganda campaigns boils down to ideological support to the imperialist strategy of economic, political, ideological and military pressure on the socialist countries, and chiefly against the Soviet union; to undermining their international prestige, and to weakening their unity. The exposure of the substance of the class nature and goals of the actions cited, the creation of a clear-cut understanding among the citizens of the USSR of the organization of bourgeois propaganda, and the neutralization of its attempts to render negative influences on the consciousness and behavior of the Soviet people—are some of the most important tasks of counterpropaganda.

It was heavily stressed at the 27th CPSU Congress that, "We have no right to forget that 'psychological warfare' is the struggle for the minds of the people, for their world view, and for their social and intellectual guideposts in life. We are dealing with a tested class enemy, whose political experience is varied, and is measured in terms of centuries. It has created a gigantic machine for mass propaganda, equipped with modern technological means, possessing a huge staff of disciplined haters of socialism." Under these circumstances it is important to wage an aggressive counterpropaganda campaign. The shrewdness and unprincipled nature of bourgeois propagandists, it was noted at the Congress, must be counterpoised by the high professionalism of our ideological workers, by the morale of socialist society and its culture, by the openness of information, and by the bold and creative nature of our propaganda. Aggressiveness is also needed both with respect to the unmasking of ideological diversions, and to providing the correct information on the genuine achievements of socialism and the socialist way of life.

There was open and principled discussion on how to more rapidly and more effectively implement these instructions from the party at the 3rd Plenum of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee (October 1986) as well, which called for greater in-depth counterpropaganda work, well-argued explanation of the peace-loving policy of the CPSU and the Soviet state, and exposure of the aggressive and anti-national essence of imperialism, its politics and its ideology. Propaganda, it was stated at the plenum, is called upon to effectively expose the ideological diversion of the bourgeois-clerical centers and foreign radio stations, directed toward inciting religious-nationalist feelings, while attempting to utilize the Islamic factor for antisocialist purposes.

The aggressive nature of counterpropaganda is determined by the fact that it is based on the general methodological principles of the ideological work of the CPSU, and on the progressive ideology and scientific understanding of the natural laws for the development of society and social consciousness. The Soviet people have no reason to take up defensive positions in the unabating ideological struggle in the contemporary world.

The aggressive nature of counterpropaganda is supported by continuously forecasting the likelihood of the appearance and development of problems which in the future might become the subject of fabrications and ideological attacks by bourgeois propaganda, and by all-round analysis of the basic directions and methods with which the ideological enemy plans to insinuate his own ideas into our country. Thereby his planned actions with respect to actual events and phenomena occurring in the USSR are forestalled.

It is well-known that the ideological struggle is carried on not in the abstract, but around the concrete and everyday problems which are of concern to the popular masses—problems of war and peace, the way of life and rights of

man, and his spiritual make-up. It is namely the preservation of peace on Earth that is today the basic direction of the foreign policy of the CPSU and the Soviet state. Reactionary-minded Western politicians and military leaders are constantly manipulating the nuclear threat, having selected it as the means for achieving their political goals. Therefore it is important that every Soviet citizen understands the importance and the necessity of the countermeasures adopted by our country for the purposes of forestalling the arms race, that he feels a personal commitment toward the fate of the Motherland, and that he knows that the front in the struggle for peace also passes through his place of work. And this obligates him to tirelessly strive to strengthen the economic and defensive potential of the socialist Fatherland, and to increase his own readiness to come to its defense from any encroachment by the imperialist aggressor.

The principal content of counterpropaganda work consists of inculcating in the Soviet people a class approach to the analysis of the phenomena of social life, and the ability to "discern the interests of this or that class that lie behind any moral, religious, political or social phrases, declarations or promises" (V.I. Lenin, "Complete Collection of Works," Vol 23, p 47). An integral part of such work is the conviction of each Soviet citizen of the correctness and vital nature of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, and the revelation of the advantages of the socialist way of life. Moreover, the conduct of counterpropaganda must be combined with convincing criticism of capitalist reality and the bourgeois way of life. As the CPSU Program stresses, our party sees its mission as bringing to the nations the true nature of genuine socialism and the domestic and foreign policy of the Soviet Union; to actively promote the Soviet way of life; and to aggressively and eloquently expose the anti-national, inhuman nature of imperialism and its exploitative essence. The interrelationship of these two tasks is already dictated by the circumstances that in the course of "psychological warfare," the disciples of imperialism are striving to besmirch the achievements of genuine socialism, and are carrying out overt actions to substitute capitalist values for socialist values in the minds of the people.

In comparing the socialist and bourgeois ways of life, one must decisively expose any attempts to foist upon us arguments on the consumer and mercantile level. The enormous advantages of socialism become especially tangible if the comparison is carried out on the basis of the entire aggregate of economic, social, legal and more-ethical norms, and if it is based on Lenin's well-known formulation of the principal goal of socialism—to guarantee the "total well-being and free, all-round development of all members of society" ("Complete Collection of Works," Vol. 6, p 232). Only socialism guarantees respect for the dignity of everyone, affirms justice in all spheres of social life, and assures faith in the future and the undeviating improvement of the quality of life.

At the same time, when speaking of our achievements, one must not silently skirt the difficulties, shortcomings, unresolved problems and critical questions of economic activity and education. Fear of these problems, and glossing over the real dialectical contradictions in the growth of a new society reduces the expected propaganda effect. As was noted at the January 1987 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, answers are badly needed for the many topical questions which perestroika has raised and continues to raise.

However the other extreme is unacceptable as well, where constructive analysis of the reasons for the shortcomings and ways to resolve the conflicts are lacking. Such phenomena must be given principled examination. Criticism of shortcomings must be a means for struggle with them, boldly emphasizing the principal, determinant trends for contemporary development.

Thus, from a methodological and political point of view it is important that the demonstration of the achievements and advantages of socialism are organically combined in counterpropaganda with an in-depth and detailed class analysis of contemporary imperialism, and with the organization, as Lenin put it, of its "overall political unmasking" (Ibid., p 69). These "political unmaskings" are based on the exposure of the antagonisms of imperialism, brought forth by private ownership of the means of production; on demonstrating its anti-national, inhuman social practices; its aggressive policies which are a threat to peace; and its unscientific ideology, its shameful morals and subversive propaganda; and on exposing anticommunism and antisovietism.

Imperialism never ceases to attack one of the basic gains of socialism—the solution of the national question. Bourgeois propaganda never ceases to assert that the uniformity of the ideological position of the nations of the USSR allegedly encroaches upon the national individuality of each of them, and that the uniform Soviet culture is devouring the culture of the other nations. But after all it is no secret that it is namely socialism that has put an end to national oppression and inequality, and with any encroachment whatsoever on the rights of people for national motives, and has assured the economic and intellectual progress of all the nations and nationalities in the country. Today, as our life is being enhanced by democracy, self-government is being extensively developed, and the processes of internationalization are deepening, the party is doing everything necessary to justly resolve the questions which arise on the only possible basis—in the interests of the flourishing of every nation and nationality, in the interests of their further convergence, and in the interests of all of society.

The "concern" of the subversive foreign centers for this or that nation or nationality in the USSR is merely a cover for ideological diversion on behalf of imperialism, as natural national feelings are being quietly subordinated to the nationalistic, and to hostile attitudes toward

other nations. And it is not by chance that generous support is being rendered precisely to the nationalistically-oriented emigres, who are more and more forming blocs with imperialist reactionaries under the banner of naked antisovietism.

Reactionary religious centers—Christian, Judaic, and Muslim—are operating in direct contact with bourgeois propaganda. In the struggle with all kinds of clerical anticommunism it is important that the Soviet people, including the believers, understand that they are based not so much upon religious motives, as on the hidden antisoviet, anticommunist goals of the class enemy directed toward shattering the unity of the socialist society. And one must constantly bear this in mind.

The effectiveness of counterpropaganda activity depends not only on a knowledge of the forms, methods and means used by the adversary in his subversive ideological activity, but also on our readiness for an aggressive and decisive struggle with him; on the ability to withstand and soundly repulse him. Therefore it is very important that every Soviet citizen be able to deal with the ideological situation from Marxist-Leninist positions, be able to recognize the contrivances of the adversary, expose them, and respond with well-argued criticism. As already noted, the Western mass information media do not cease spreading lies and slander about "violation of human rights" which allegedly take place in the USSR and other socialist countries. As "arguments" bourgeois propaganda, without even a hint of embarrassment, extols all sorts of renegades or half-baked criminals in the socialist countries, making them into "fighters for justice." By such actions they are pursuing the goal of "proving" that under socialism, freedom and democracy, and the rights of the individual are allegedly lacking.

The falsity and groundlessness of such assertions are obvious. Socialism has not only granted all citizens and each individual equal rights—to labor, relaxation, housing and so on; it has also guaranteed them in the Constitution. And it is namely in the guarantee of the rights and liberties of the Soviet citizens that the advantages of the socialist system are manifest. "As a result of perestroika," said CPSU Central Committee General Secretary M.S. Gorbachev in his report dedicated to the 70th Anniversary of the Great October Revolution, "that socialism can and must fully realize its capabilities as a system of genuine humanism, which serves man and elevates him. This is a society for the people—for the flourishing of their creative labor, for their well-being, health, physical and intellectual development; a society where a man feels that he enjoys all the rights of the master, and is in fact the master."

The active participation of the popular masses in the governance of the state convincingly testifies to the enormous advantages and inexhaustible capabilities of Soviet democracy, which is steadily expanding. The democratization of society is the soul of perestroika—

and the success of perestroika itself, as well as the future of socialism as a whole, depends on how well it goes. This, it was stressed in the aforementioned report by M.S. Gorbachev, is the most solid guarantee of changes in politics and economics, and rules out any kind of retreat.

The instructions of the 27th CPSU Congress on glasnost have important methodological significance for counterpropaganda work. Glasnost is being asserted more and more in all spheres of life of Soviet society, and it is motivating the people to enterprising and principled work. Timely reaction to changes in the ideological situation, the posing of critical questions, the operational effectiveness and substantial nature of informational materials—all of these support the effectiveness of counterpropaganda measures.

Counterpropaganda is called upon to continuously expose the socio-economic flaws of imperialism, and to actively and precisely display the "sore spots" of contemporary capitalism such as militarism, neocolonialism and state terrorism; social, national and racial discrimination; to draw attention to the rampage of McCarthyism, and the suppression of progressive and antiwar movements and demonstrations, and to the presence of millions of unemployed, homeless and hungry people; and to bring out the mass illiteracy, the cultivation of individualism, and the intellectual poverty and violence which prevail in bourgeois society.

There must be a counterpropaganda aspect in practically all spheres of ideological work—in political education, in oral agitation, in lecture propaganda; in newspaper articles, and in TV and radio broadcasts. The effectiveness of the measures conducted depends on many factors, and one of the principal factors is the careful study and knowledge of the collective in which they are being conducted. At the same time it is important to take into consideration the social role and functions which the given collective is carrying out in its labor and social life. Without a doubt the specific content of counterpropaganda work will have its own unique features at an industrial enterprise and at a kolkhoz, in the student environment and at a scientific institution, and so on, because of the varying levels of knowledge of the people on specific, actual problems of the ideological struggle; contemporary international life, various intellectual needs, and the state of public opinion. All of this must be taken into consideration.

Today there are increased demands on the activities of lecturers, propagandists and political information specialists. Their activities must be distinguished above all by communist orthodoxy and the ability to sway the audience. Confidence in the ideas being propagated, a clear political position, and irreconcilability to the class enemy can help to achieve this goal. The aggressive Bolshevik passion of the lecturer or political information specialist and his quick reactions will increase the effectiveness of the presentations. At the very same time

it is important to be able to carry on confidential conversation as well, if necessary, and to utilize an individual approach. The ability to act knowledgeably of the business, decisively, inventively and flexibly, assures the success of counterpropaganda work.

The ever-increasing level of erudition and intellectual needs of the Soviet people, and the expanding volume of information are making the ideological situation in the country more dynamic. And this demands constant attention to counterpropaganda work, a search for more modern organizational forms for conducting it, and for working out specific measures for increasing its effectiveness. It must be carried on with operational effectiveness, systematically, with a high degree of competence, with the use of all means of propaganda and education, taking into consideration local conditions and the peculiarities of the propaganda campaign of the ideological adversary; and it must be, as already noted, specific, direct, dynamic, and anticipatory.

The 21st Uzbek CP Congress demanded "increasing attention toward counterpropaganda, and stepping up its aggressiveness and effectiveness... Party committees, primary party organizations, ideological institutions, and mass information media must work out a clear-cut and effective system of counterpropaganda work; they must confidently expound the inevitability of the triumph of socialism and the historical demise of capitalism; and they must teach the people class intransigence toward the adversary, political vigilance, and unreceptiveness toward bourgeois ideology and morals." These instructions contain a clear-cut program for action for the entire ideological aktiv of Uzbekistan. Counterpropaganda councils and groups have been established at the party committees. Specialization has been defined for ideological cadres on various questions of counterpropaganda. Counterpropaganda offices at political education houses of party obkoms are holding scientific-practical conferences on urgent questions of the ideological struggle and other measures. Lectures and talks, organized in consideration of the interests of various population categories and the ideological situation in specific collectives, have been dedicated to counterpropaganda themes.

At the very same time in order to implement the resolutions of the 27th CPSU Congress, the 21st Uzbek CP Congress, and the 3rd Plenum of its Central Committee, there is still a great deal to do in this responsible sector of ideological activity. The guarantor of perfecting counterpropaganda work is the fact that it is based on the profound ideological conviction of the Soviet people, on their feelings of patriotism and internationalism, and on their irreconcilability to bourgeois ideology and propaganda. The best counterbalance to the subversive plots of imperialism is the affirmation of revolutionary ideals and socialist norms of life, and the active and purposeful propaganda which we have waged during the 70 years since the heroic path of October was begun.

Today, as the party and all Soviet people are selflessly working to put into action the historical resolutions of the 27th CPSU Congress, the improvement of ideological-educational work, to include counterpropaganda, is one of the principal concerns of the party, the Komsomol and all social organizations. And everything must be done in order that the advantages of the socialist way of life serve as a genuine support in the ideological and

moral education of the people. This is especially important now, when the Soviet state and society have been given new and extensive tasks for communist construction.

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Tikhvinskiy Outlines Historian's Role in New Political Thinking

18:00223 Moscow NOVAYA I NOVEYSHAYA
ISTORIYA in Russian No 2, Mar-Apr 88 pp 11-15

[Article by Academician S. L. Tikhvinskiy: "New Political Thinking and Historians"]

[Text] One of the important tasks of historical science consists of the in-depth interpretation of the historical path which the Soviet state has travelled in 70 years, the analysis of the regularities and tendencies of world development, and the application of historical experience in solving the current problems of the present day.

The current stage of reorganization of Soviet society and affirmation of the new political thinking in international policy is a continuation of the cause of Great October, an extension of Lenin's foreign policy legacy, of the basic ideas and the international practice which were associated with the activity of V. I. Lenin.

We are speaking primarily of the continuity of the basic principles and directions which are developing and operating as applied to specific historical conditions, rather than of a mechanical repetition of that which has already been passed. The 27th Congress stressed the fact that "any effort to transform the theory which we use as our guide into a set of ossified schemes and recipes applicable everywhere and in every instance of life, decisively contradicts the essence and spirit of Marxism-Leninism". (1)

Lenin's foreign policy legacy and its specific practical application in the first years of Soviet rule have laid the groundwork for Soviet foreign political strategy for the long-term future. The peculiarities of its manifestation in our day are determined by the specifics of the current historical development and by the dialectics of interaction of domestic and foreign factors.

Among the historical documents of the epoch of Great October we may rightfully specify the Decree on Peace, which was adopted the next day after the revolution and which presented the principles and directions of foreign policy under Soviet rule. Lenin's formula regarding the indivisibility of peace and socialism laid the foundations for the peace-loving course of the country and clearly demonstrated that the leaders of the young state understood that peace was a most important all-people's value. Today Lenin's idea regarding the fact that at certain crucial stages in human history the all-people's values take priority over all other interests takes on particular significance. Here V. I. Lenin expressed the humanistic content of the foreign policy of socialism and the desire of the Soviet state to put an end to predatory and destructive wars.

The concept of peaceful coexistence developed by V. I. Lenin and clearly and fully expressed during the preparations for and in the course of the Geneva Conference

of 1922 testified to the fact that the Soviet state from the very beginning approached the interpretation of peaceful coexistence from a broad position, not viewing it merely as the absence of war. Lenin's understanding of peaceful coexistence presupposed a high level of interaction by the states of two social systems in the economic and political spheres. In combination with the Leninist concept of the ever increasing internationalization of economic life, the concept of peaceful coexistence creates the basis for understanding the growth of mutual dependence and mutual relations in the world in the 20th and the forthcoming 21st centuries. "There is a force," said V. I. Lenin, "which is greater than the will or the desire and decision of any of the hostile governments or classes: this force is common economic world relations". (2)

Lenin's numerous evaluations of the economic and political factors in realizing the concept of peaceful coexistence, as well as V. I. Lenin's approach to the problem of pacifism and the anti-war struggle, are very timely and current today.

The problem of continuity and accumulation of historical experience presupposes that we give consideration to the positive outcomes and achievements, as well as learning lessons from mistakes, omissions and missed opportunities. Soviet historians are striving to approach the evaluation of past events from just such a standpoint.

Leninist methodology of historical research stresses the deep and dialectic interconnection of foreign and domestic factors. The achievements of the USSR in economics and in the social sphere also facilitate the development of a correct foreign political course and create the conditions for its realization. And, on the contrary, mistakes, stagnation and a slowing down in the domestic policy plane are inevitably expressed also in the foreign policy, reducing its effectiveness and its results. An understanding of this dialectic interdependence is extremely important for historians. It opens up a broad expanse for performing an in-depth analysis and interpretation of the past and for exposing all the complexities and contradictions of the historical process.

Most important is Lenin's position on considering the specific historical situation in developing and adopting certain decisions and in working out a correct political course.

Based on an analysis of the peculiarities of world development in the second half of the 80's and a critical analysis and re-interpretation of our development in the preceding years, the CPSU has worked out a conception for reorganization and acceleration of the country's social and economic development, and has defined a new foreign political strategy distinguished by the broad scope of its presented tasks. At the crucial stage of human history, the Soviet leaders have demonstrated a high sense of responsibility and have set the example for a creative and innovative approach to solving the problems of war and peace.

The historical significance of the Soviet foreign policy program formulated in 1986-1987 consists of the fact that it exposes a new philosophy and expresses new political thinking which corresponds to the realities of the nuclear-missile age. The basis for the Soviet approach to solving international problems is the understanding of the ruinous consequences of mankind's continuing the race for improving and stockpiling nuclear weapons. To the theory of "nuclear containment" and to various conceptions which justify war and a forceful solution to international problems the USSR contraposes the philosophy of protecting human values and humanism. Utilizing many centuries of experience in progressive mankind's struggle against wars and military threat, the Soviet Union has presented a broad program of humanization of international relations in favor of the creation of a lasting and just peace. The threat of nuclear annihilation which hangs over the world creates a principally new situation. It seems to give mankind a new point of reference and stresses the commonality of the fates of the people on our planet. The struggle for all-human interests and values has become the nucleus in the formulation of new political thinking on the Soviet conception of a nuclear-free world.

Another prerequisite for the emergence of the new Soviet foreign policy program has become the ever increasing interrelation and interdependence of our world. We are speaking of the ever greater internationalization of the world economy, of the manifestation of global problems whose solution is impossible within a national framework and requires the unification of the efforts of all mankind, and finally of the commonality of the fates of mankind before the threat of nuclear annihilation. The experience of recent years has given numerous examples of the successful cooperation of various states in protecting the environment and the World Ocean, in solving fuel-energy problems, in the struggle against serious illnesses, etc.

Expressing the needs of world development and the attitudes of millions of people, the USSR has proposed an extensive program for building a nuclear-free world. The announcement of CPSU Central Committee Secretary General M. S. Gorbachev dated 15 January 1986 contained a presentation of the Soviet approach to the most important and burning problem of our time. The USSR presented a plan for freeing the planet from nuclear weapons until the year 2000 and laid the foundation for a qualitatively new stage in the struggle for elimination of nuclear weapons. The Soviet program of a nuclear-free world not only gave a general idea and direction of activity, but also outlined specific steps and measures for freeing the planet from nuclear weapons. Mankind seemed to take a glimpse at the horizon and imagined its future in the not-so-distant 21st century.

History's first step in the direction of ridding mankind of the threat of annihilation was made on 8 December 1987 during the historic meeting of CPSU Central Committee Secretary General M. S. Gorbachev with U.S. President

R. Reagan. The lengthy talks were culminated by an agreement reached on the elimination of two classes of nuclear missile weapons. For the first time in the history of mankind, large-scale disarmament is being implemented instead of the continuation of the arms race.

Integrally connected with the program of liberation from nuclear weapons is the Soviet conception of an overall system of international security. It also emanates from the interdependence of our world and has an all-encompassing and integrated character, based on the principle of equality of all states, large and small, rather than on the need for considering the contribution of all countries into the system of international security. The task of such a system consists not of solving some specific, individual problem. Rather, it must become an instrument for fulfilling the central problem of current times—the prevention of war and the building of a nuclear-free world. Thus, the new concept of the overall system of international security is not associated with the building of any new balance of power, but is rather imbued with humanistic content and directed toward the unification of efforts of most countries and peoples. Another peculiarity of the new security system is its organic integration of the problems of security and disarmament.

The Soviet conception of an overall system of international security presupposes an interaction in the military-political, economic and humanitarian spheres. For each of these directions the Soviet leaders have defined long-term and immediate goals and have outlined the stages and means of their realization.

The overall system of international security proposed by the USSR also includes the solution of problems on a regional level. The Soviet Union has for a long time actively struggled for strengthening European security. Based on the broad dialogue with the European countries and the all-European process begun in Helsinki, the USSR and the entire socialist alliance are striving to remove nuclear weapons from the European continent and as a first step—to make the decision to eliminate medium- and short-range missiles, ban chemical weapons, and create nuclear-free zones in Europe. The socialist countries are speaking out in favor of broad economic interaction and in favor of the development of cultural exchange. Leaning on deep-seated historical traditions, the objective demands of economic development, the experience of cultural-historic all-European heritage and the common responsibility of the Europeans for the preservation of their continent, the USSR has presented the concept of the "common-European house", called upon to unify the efforts of all the European countries in the struggle to prevent war and ensure the peaceful future of Europe.

The Soviet Union has proposed an extensive program of measures for ensuring security also in the Asian-Pacific region. This program is directed toward the stabilization of the situation, the economic and political cooperation of the countries in this region, and the curtailment of

nuclear weapons, whose stockpiling is destabilizing the situation in this vast region of the world. The New Delhi Declaration on a nuclear-free and non-forcible peace has received the broad support of the peoples of all continents.

The world is witness to the successful introduction of new thinking in the practice of international relations and to real steps in the sphere of disarmament, in the development of political dialogue, and in the transformation of peaceful coexistence into a universal system of international relations. This is a result of the activity of Soviet foreign policy which has sharply increased in the past two years, as well as of the diplomacy and the involvement by many deputies of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the union republics, and by leaders in science, technology, art and culture in the realization of the foreign policy initiatives. M. S. Gorbachev sets the example in the active struggle for the introduction of new thinking into international relations. His numerous meetings with the heads of various states and the leaders of various parties and organizations from the countries of Asia, Africa, Europe, Central, South and North America and Australia are well known to the entire world.

Soviet social scientists are faced with great and crucial tasks in studying the problems of war and peace and the international relations of current times. First of all, the methodological and theoretical problems need to be studied in an in-depth manner. The peculiarities of interaction of economics and politics, of foreign and domestic factors under current conditions, as well as their effect on the sphere of international relations, must be exposed from the standpoint of Marxist-Leninist methodology. We have just begun to study the concepts of interdependence and interrelation of our world and to define the various components of its integrity.

Specialists in different fields of knowledge are studying new phenomena in the development of capitalism, the character of manifestation of its contradictions, and the interrelations of these contradictions with the possibilities for peaceful coexistence of the two systems. We must devote more in-depth and comprehensive study to peaceful coexistence as a universal system of international relations and to the interaction of peaceful coexistence with social progress.

Social scientists bear a great responsibility in the nuclear missile age. At the last International Congress of Historical Sciences held in Stuttgart (FRG) in 1985, a "roundtable" discussion was held at the initiative of Soviet historians on the topic of "The Responsibility of the Historian in the Nuclear Age". This discussion attracted much attention from the Congress participants, who supported the thesis on the need for active participation of historians in the peace movement, in the struggle for excluding advocacy of war, militarism, racism, and apartheid from history textbooks and lectures, and in the movement for preserving the monuments of history and culture which are threatened by military conflicts.

The notion of peace in history is a relatively new topic for us. Today we are embarking on the preparations for a series of studies in this field. In June of 1986 a representative international conference was held in Moscow on the topic of "The Ideas of Peace in History and Current Times". The participants expressed their desire to continue discussion on this important problem. The task consists of exposing the humanistic traditions in the struggle for a lasting and just peace.

We must welcome in every way possible the practice of conducting creative discussions between social scientists of various countries. From my own personal experience of recent years, I can testify to the great success of such meetings, contacts, and discussions for the cause of peace and mutual understanding between peoples. I have had occasion to participate in meetings of Soviet social scientists in the Chinese People's Republic, the CzSSR and the Korean People's Democratic Republic; in the discussion held in Bonn within the framework of the Bergedorf group immediately after the meeting of M. S. Gorbachev and R. Reagan; in the conference on problems of Asian-Pacific security organized in Tokyo by the influential newspaper YOMIURI; in the conference of Soviet and American historians held in Moscow, where the American delegation was headed up by the well-known historian and diplomat George Kennan, and others.

Expanding the dialogue with representatives of various social groups, parties, scientific, religious and pacifist organizations will facilitate the spread of new thinking in the sphere of international relations and promote the preservation of peace on the planet.

In recent years, a persistent need for studying the essence and history of the "cold war" has become apparent. We must involve new documental materials and demonstrate new approaches to the study of the history of international relations in 1946-1950, when confrontation and harsh rivalry came to replace the cooperation of the war period, and when the world was thrust into the "cold war". Soviet historians are ready to study this question. We believe that we need the joint efforts of scientists from various countries.

One of the key problems of current times is the creation of an overall system of international security. There are already individual studies on this question. But now we need an interdisciplinary approach, a unification of the efforts of historians and economists, sociologists, jurists, and political scientists. We must define the military-political, economic and humanitarian aspects of the overall system of international security. The studies of regional aspects of security (in Europe, in the Asian-Pacific region, etc.) are extremely important as organic parts of the overall system of security.

Among the new international political problems presented by life in recent years we may cite the problem of formulating images and notions of some countries and

peoples in the eyes of others. This question also has great current significance. It is important to outline the means of overcoming unfriendly and negative images and stereotypes which poison the political and psychological climate and hinder the improvement of the international situation. A comprehensive approach by historians and ethnographers, sociologists and psychologists is required in the study of these questions.

The outcomes and conclusions on these problems must be introduced into practical application and used in specific policy and in the activity of the means of information and mass communication.

We must also deal seriously with the conceptual apparatus, as well as with the problems of terminology. For example, the conference held on 8-10 December 1987 touched upon the question of such terms as the "socialist camp", the "socialist system", the "socialist alliance," and the "world of socialism". In the course of an extensive theoretical discussion held during the celebration of the 70th Anniversary of the Great October

Socialist Revolution in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses, the representative from India focused the attention of the meeting participants on the extremely conditional character of the term "third world". There is still also an entire series of obsolete terms which it is time to abandon.

We have noted only a few of the questions which require priority development. It is important that social scientists, in overcoming a tendency toward simplification and schematism, seek out new approaches and solutions so as to present on the basis of new political thinking an in-depth exposure of international-political development, and to define its historical roots and perspectives.

Footnotes

1. Materials of the 27th CPSU Congress. M., 1986, p 5.
2. Lenin, V. I. "Polnoye sobraniye sochineniy" [Collected Works], Vol 44, p 304-305.

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Teacher Advocates Study of Bible, Koran
18000359 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in
Russian 13 May 88 p 2

[Article by V. Volkova, literature teacher at Middle School No. 19, Bendery: "Professor, Have You Read the Bible?"]

[Text] In the letter "Retelling Instead of the Original Source?" a very natural idea was defended. The idea is to republish the works of the bourgeois philosophers in an edition intended for student instruction. I agree that it is difficult to become a politically-conscious marxist by virtue of what is gleaned from "A Concise Study of the History of Philosophy." But it is even more difficult to become an atheist after reading the textbook "Scientific Atheism."

I graduated from the Tiraspol'skiy Pedagogical Institute. The scientific atheism instructor there passionately and animatedly criticized the Bible and the Koran, not even once in his life having seen these books.

This year I'm attending the Bendarskiy University of Marxism-Leninism. Everything is repeating itself here. I can hardly keep from asking the lecturer "And have you read the Bible?"

Even in literature classes at school we require that the children have a knowledge of original sources, but at the University of Marxism-Leninism...?

The encyclopedia calls the Bible and the Koran unique and complex universal literary texts. The development of our multi-national culture is connected with these texts. Read the Bible and Gogol, Dostoevsky, Leskov, Belinskiy's fury, and Tolstoy's (who was excommunicated from the church) "War and Peace" will become clearer. Meanwhile, our "scientific atheists" cannot find words other than "opium of the masses" for the Bible.

As a teacher, I am convinced that the Bible and the Koran must be published in the series "Literary Texts." This will not harm the atheists. After all, haven't they exerted a "corrupting and demoralizing influence" on the authors (who I hope have read those books) of the textbook "Scientific Atheism?"

Kiev's Bishop Palladiy Discusses Millennium's Significance

18000362 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in
Russian 11 May 88 p 4

[Kiev: "Kiev Prepares for the Millennium"]

[Text] As was already reported, celebrations to commemorate the Millennium of the Anniversary of the Christening of Rus will be conducted in Moscow from 5 to 16 June. Kiev is also commemorating the anniversary.

S. Kiselev, our correspondent in Ukraine asked Bishop Palladiy, vicar of the Ukrainian Diocese and manager of the affairs of the Ukrainian Exarchate, to tell us about Kiev's plans.

Bishop Palladiy said that for all those to whom the culture of our nation and its history are dear, this anniversary takes on a special significance. The restructuring based on the principles of democratization and glasnost presently going on in society and the special attention which is being given to spirituality and morality because of it have a fundamental significance for all Soviet citizens, believers and nonbelievers. Preparation for the celebration of the Millennium of the Anniversary of the Christening of Rus and the all-around support of the state and the public have once more demonstrated that believers and atheists can and must find points on which to meet, building their relations on mutual respect.

This is the program for anniversary celebrations in Kiev, the "mother of Russian cities," where the christening of Rus also took place. A celebratory theatrical performance dedicated to the great event is scheduled for the T.G. Shevchenko Opera and Ballet Theater on 14 June. On 15 June a liturgical service will be conducted at the Vladimir Cathedral, and that evening there will be a two-part concert of spiritual and secular music given at the Opera and Ballet Theater. On 16 June a liturgy will be read on the Vladimirskaia Gorka, above which the world-famous monument to the holy, apostle-like and great Prince Vladimir towers, and Kiev's sacred places will be visited, including St. Sofia's Cathedral and Kievo-Pecherskaya Lavra. Incidentally, the Church is presently awaiting a positive decision on the petition it forwarded several years ago to have the Far and Near Caverns of the Kievo-Pecherskaya Lavra returned to it. This is one of the major concerns of the superiors of the Russian Orthodox Church.

Besides the religious publications that will come out in Moscow to commemorate the Millennium of the Christening of Rus, a sizeable number of copies of the New Testament in Ukrainian will be published in Kiev. The Russian Orthodox Church will receive 100,000 Bibles in Ukrainian from abroad as a gift to commemorate the Millennium.

One last thing. Kiev is expecting a multitude of guests, among them a number of foreigners. We hope that the celebration of the Millennium of the Christening of Rus will facilitate the strengthening of brotherly ties between Christian churches and the development of the concepts of peace, freedom, brotherhood, love and mutual understanding and cooperation among nations.

Monastery Caverns Threatened by Construction Projects

18000338 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in
Russian, No 14, 6 Apr 88 p 2

[Article by Andrey Grodzinskiy, UkSSR Academy of Sciences academician: "A Prestigious Building Zone"]

[Text] Does our country have material evidence harkening back to the times of the christening of Rus? These things do exist but somehow they are not remembered!

"Vydybay, bozhe [Get Out of the Water, Our God] is a dale at the foot of the cliffs on the Dnieper's right-hand bank where, according to legend, the idol Perun, who had been thrown into the river, "got out of the water." In the second half of the 11th century the Vydubetskiy Monastery sprang up here and now the UkSSR Academy of Sciences Central Republic Botanical Garden stretches out in the surrounding area. Here is where Father Superior Leontiy founded the monastery of caves in the 10th century, in the time before and immediately after the acceptance of Christianity. The caverns which are similar to those of the Kiev-Pecherskaya Lavra, run through the uppermost reaches of the cliffs, surrounding them from the eastern and northern sides. The caverns were deserted after the Mongol-Tatar invasions.

At the beginning of this century, A.D. Ertel, and then later the UkSSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Archeology, began to research the caverns. An underground church and dozens of burial sites were discovered; many interesting antiquarian artifacts were found. Only a small portion of the caverns has been investigated. The caverns are not under any particular protection, although they have been declared republic archeological monuments. Unfortunately, scientists have not been able to lay their hands on the caverns. On the other hand, the UkSSR Ministry of Installation and Special Construction Work has been able to get its hands on the caverns through its two planning and technological construction institutes: the State Institute for Planning and Special Construction and the UkSSR Institute for Installation and Special Construction. These institutes are planning to build by manner of khozspisob [not using subcontractors] a 16-floor residential building, and a little lower down, a 5-floor building in the immediate vicinity of the caverns.

This slope is considered to be a prestigious building zone because opposite it stands the Great Patriotic War memorial and adjacent to it are the botanical garden and the Dnieper. The city would have taken over this area long ago except for the fact that there are no communications hook-ups nor any landslide prevention measures implemented here. But, this does not matter at all to the Ministry of Installation and Special Construction Work. And, after the 16-story box complete with pool, sauna, garages and sports field is built, 4 more cooperative buildings are planned.

What will be left of the caverns when bulldozers, bored piles and underground communications appear?

Unfortunately, the Kiev Central Architectural Administration is not thinking about the city's profile and is cramming the area surrounding Kiev-Pecherskaya

Lavra, Vydubetskiy Preserve and the Dnieper's historical cliffs with concrete boxes. And no one is concerned about the cliffs' water supply system (these cliffs suffer landslides).

How can these zealous builders be stopped?

State Hands Over Church to Yaroslavl Russian Orthodox Diocese

18000334 [Editorial Report] Moscow NEDELYA in Russian No. 16 for 18-24 April 1988 carries on page 4 a 400-word article on the return of Tolgsky Monastery to the Russian Orthodox Church after 60 years in state hands. The article notes that for many years Tolgsky Monastery had been the site of an MVD educational-labor colony. Spasskaya Church, the first of the buildings in the monastery complex being renovated, will be the site of a celebratory service to commemorate the Millennium of the Acceptance of Christianity by Kievan Rus.

The article also states that recently the Fedorovskaya Church summer building was transferred to the Yaroslavl Russian Orthodox Diocese. Restoration work on this church will be completed before Millennium festivities commence.

Films Commemorating Millennium Being Readied

18000357 [Editorial Report] Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian on 11 May 88 carries a 500-word article in which V. Panasyuk, head of the Central Studio of Documentary Films [TsSDF] tells of three documentary films that the Moscow Patriarchy has contracted TsSDF to produce for the Millennium celebrations.

"Under Gracious Protection" is a two-part film series and will be shown at the Cannes Film Festival. The first reel of this two-part series is 60 minutes long and covers the events of six centuries from 988 to the murder of Prince Dmitriy. The second reel of this series encompasses subsequent events up to present times. The third film has not been produced yet. It will be entirely devoted to the Millennium festivities in the Soviet Union as well as in other countries around the world where the Orthodox Autocephalic Church is in existence: Jerusalem, Greece, France, Turkey, Japan and West Germany. The West German film company "Noviteks" (a TsSDF partner) will do the foreign filming. The Patriarchy's Department of Foreign Relations arranged the agreement with "Noviteks." A thousand copies of the two-part film series will be presented to guests of the Millennium celebrations.

I. Ulyanova, an employee of the Moscow Patriarchy's publishing department, is among the authors of the films' scripts.

Filming took place in 36 Soviet cities among them: Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev, Rostov Velikiy, Vladimir and Suzdal. In Moscow filming took place in the Kremlin and in the Tretyakov Gallery.

Cinematographers filmed church cultural activities (congresses, delegations) and religious celebrations. V. Panasyuk states that "perhaps this was the first time that cinematographers were able to show the activities of working monasteries."

Panasyuk states that the main value of the film lies in its depiction of the "evolution of the Russian government. During certain periods of our history the power of the Russian patriarch was immense. None of the tsar's decrees could be carried out without the approval of the patriarch. It was Peter I who 'excluded' the patriarch

from the rule of the state." Panasyuk goes on to state that it is a "paradoxical and little known fact that after a two-century hiatus, the patriarch was again selected at a meeting of the Synod in 1917. We have newsreels of these events."

The series is based on chronological documentation and not fiction.

To the interviewer's question of whether the two-part film will be shown to Soviet filmgoers or not (as was the case with the film "Khram"), Panasyuk responded that the "customer" who ordered the film "Khram" has already given his approval for that film to be shown in the Soviet Union. Panasyuk hopes that the question will also be decided favorably in the matter of the new films.

Speculation in National Treasures Discussed

18110061 [Editorial Report] Kiev PRAPOR KOMUNIZMU in Ukrainian on 3 Apr 1988 carries on page 4 a 600-word article by Pavlo Poznyak entitled "Does What Falls Into the Ground Perish?" The article concerns the return of national treasures to the Soviet government which somehow have made their way abroad. Many of these treasures had been taken out of the country 70 years ago. Poznyak expresses gratitude to "the youthful" Armand Hammer for returning some of these treasures. He also notes that there are some old people living abroad, "often with Russian surnames", who buy these treasures at international auctions and then return them to Soviet museums, libraries, and institutes. Poznyak states that despite border controls there are still "international swindlers" who attempt to abscond with ancient icons and antiquarian artifacts, as well as those who do underground trafficking in these items.

Poznyak also relates the story of an old woman who appealed to the UkSSR Academy of Sciences Institute for Archeology. The woman lives not far from the Kiev-Pecherskaya Lavra. Apparently her neighbor, "while digging a cellar in his backyard, unearthed a previously undiscovered cavern." Deciding that this 1000-year old structure could be put to good use for another few decades, he fenced off a portion of the cavern and is now storing potatoes in it. The archeologists sent the woman to see officials at the raisspolkom, to the department responsible for antiquarian monuments. She also turned to the Council for the Protection of Historical and Cultural Monuments and other similar organizations, but the replies were the same all the way around: "We protect antiquarian monuments, but we

don't stand guard over them." There are also many other places that the newspaper has written about which are ignored or combed over by treasure hunters. Among these are the Pyrogovskyy and Kytayivskyy Caverns, underground churches whose vaulted ceilings have collapsed, Zviryns Caverns and even the caverns immediately surrounding the Kiev-Pecherskaya Lavra.

Poznyak states that Kiev is not the only place being victimized. LITERATURNAYA GAZETA not long ago cited a place in the RSFSR where "independent excavators" were daily digging up 150 to 200 numismatically and scientifically valuable coins dating back to the times of Ivan the Terrible. They were then selling these invaluable coins to collectors or middlemen "for a song." Something similar, though on a smaller scale, is going on in the Crimea.

Poznyak suggests that it should be illegal for those organizations who do not have authorization to conduct excavations; this will prevent the inept ravaging of places containing underground treasures. But those who dig up national treasures for the purpose of speculation are tougher to deal with. Appealing to their "civic conscience" would be counterproductive. Poznyak turns to readers for collective assistance in solving this problem.

Poznyak states that Soviet sailors are often approached in ports on the other side of the Black Sea or the Mediterranean by those who want to buy antiquarian artifacts. Poznyak concludes: "Our sailors are honest and scrupulous people, but all the same, it's not worth it to lead them into temptation by our common carelessness towards our native and national treasure. Not even Hammer has enough money to purchase all the artifacts."

**Zaslavskaya Interviewed on Role of Sociology,
Sexual Equality**

18300206a Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
8 Mar 88 p 3

[Interview with Academician Tatyana Ivanovna Zaslavskaya by Ye. Manucharova and I. Melenevskiy: "Business, Children and Destiny"; first two paragraphs are editorial introduction]

[Text] When she is walking on the street you see her in the crowd from far off; she is tall. She smiles often when talking. Some people might even form an impression of something soft in her nature. She is truly a very fine person. Precise and sincere. But nothing soft. If one of her colleagues or business partners permits any indulgence or the slightest weakening he can expect no pity. Her words are always brutal and straight, and she apparently has others in reserve. Whether or not this is correct she most often does take her own attitudes as the basis of an issue. And this can be defined quite precisely as selfless and complete, with a 100-percent commitment.

Such is the first and perhaps the only woman economist in the history of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Academician Tatyana Ivanovna Zaslavskaya.

[Question] Tatyana Ivanovna, you are actively developing the idea that for the state it is not only important to pay for the labor of each person according to justice but also to provide maximum incentive to reveal possibilities, and you write about the need to establish equal initial opportunities for all people. But there are fewer women than men in leading posts, while in childhood little girls and boys are equal; so at what stage in life do women fall behind? Perhaps it is simply that they are treated unfairly? Have you felt discrimination in your work?

[Answer] Never. And I do not think that any kinds of machinations take place against working women. Evaluations are mostly the same, both for men and for women.

As a rule a woman does realize her business capabilities. Some 51 percent of the workers in our national economy are women. They make up a majority of students and specialists with higher education.

In her youth a woman is not passed over in terms of business success and is ahead of the man.

Most women, however, do not have any desire to advance to the top levels in a service career. At the Academy of Sciences women predominate among the junior associates, but most of the senior associates are men. Women are a rarity among the sector and department chiefs at the scientific research institutes, and among the directors of scientific research institutes there are simply just a handful.

It is not only the lack of career ambitions but also life itself that slows down the woman as soon as she starts a family. I realize that I am not saying anything new and that it is extraordinarily difficult to work seriously at some business and also have children. If a woman wants to have both, under the conditions we have here she is placed in an extraordinarily difficult situation.

The only thing that helps is a fanaticism and devotion to her vocation. My elder sister and I did not listen to the advice of our stepmother, who was a strong and wise woman. Seeing that we were both science fanatics, she said: you do not need to get married and have children. We did it our way: Maya has three children and grandchildren, I have two daughters. And if I did not have a family and children I would be an unhappy person.

But at a certain stage in life it was difficult. I had to write my candidate thesis and four of us were living in a small room in a communal apartment. You have to take one daughter to the kindergarten, the other to the doctor. And our pay (both mine and my husband's) was miserable. Notwithstanding, science drew me irresistibly.

[Question] But of course, the question can be posed another way: do you have a right to have children if you are unable to give them the maximum attention?

[Answer] Any normal woman will decide her destiny without renouncing either family or work. Just the same, she wishes that it were otherwise.

You ask is it egoism that a woman wants everything, and wants it all now. It is. But if you do not want it it will not happen.

Nevertheless, it is precisely the lack of a "center" in a woman that explains the serious phenomena that are now becoming widespread among both teenagers and children. For example, early cruelty.

At home with the parents is the beginning of all things: so goes the song. In reality, however, the importance of home and parents is declining. Teenagers call it "the stall"... It is coarse, but you understand: since childhood they have been accustomed to seeing the home empty. First-graders come home from school with the key tied about their neck so that they do not lose it. No one is at home, no one is waiting for them.

I am not inclined to idealize women. But it must be clearly seen how they are different from men. In the other sex we more often encounter brilliant gifts and more clearly marked genius, and villainy. The peaks are the destiny of men. Women have a firm, golden core. Men are more variable in their inclinations and capabilities and they are innovators in organizing life. Women are more conservative and steady, and this is precisely why they are the relay stations of life.

[Question] How is perestroyka in our country affecting improvements in the lot of women?

[Answer] First and foremost, the richer store counter is facilitating life for the woman. We shall not even talk about products. Let us take a sector that is designed to make women more beautiful—beauty products. Many women are changing the color of their hair and they are all complaining that industry and trade are simply mocking them. You cannot find the most popular color—light brown. Today there is only red, tomorrow black. Or the exceptional bright gold. So this is it: by the will of trade and industry, during May all purchasers have to become fiery Carmens, while in September they are golden-haired Loreleis. Freedom of choice and a wide range of goods are extremely necessary for each woman.

Moreover, we have set a course toward acceleration, and this means that each person will be creating more values and receiving more. And this will offer a basic opportunity for the woman to organize her work so that she has more time for the family. (It is possible to work not an entire shift but, for example, part of the work day).

We must hope that gradually there will be a balance in the numbers of men and women in the national economy. For, as I have already said, there is now a preponderance of women. Even though by law they retire earlier.

[Question] What requirements do you have for women working in science?

[Answer] They are the same for both women and men. First and foremost, a sense of order, honesty, and principle. No deviations from the truth, no kind of fudging of data. As applied to my science, sociology, fudging the facts turns on convenient juggling for conclusions, using the principle of "pleasing someone."

I value industriousness highly. Great industriousness that amounts to zealotry. And, of course, the scientist needs talent—both the man and the woman.

[Question] A woman must be able to make excuses and concessions. Where did the sharpness of your speech at the most recent session of the USSR Academy of Sciences come from?

[Answer] Not everyone in this world makes excuses. I cannot make excuses for time serving in science (not to mention baseness and betrayal!). For me it is important what the concession is about. Not to whom, but in what problems. If it affects objectivity in science then here I hope that I am as hard as granite.

[Question] You are the busiest person in the family and it has come about that you have become the leader in it, with the entire household organizing itself for you. Is this a natural situation: a woman as the leader?

[Answer] Public opinion as expressed in the anecdotes asserts that the woman is the "neck." And whichever way she turns, so too goes the "head"—the husband. Does this mean that my life is an exception? But to be serious; did I want to be in this situation? Of course not. But that is how it turned out. In order to make things as you want them there must be a leader. You do not find him standing about on the street. Not everyone will submit...

[Question] Which women have influenced you and your destiny particularly strongly?

[Answer] My older sister. When mother died (she was killed by the shrapnel from a bomb) I was 14 and Maya was 17. Not a big difference it would seem. But the influence of my sister on the shaping of my character was enormous. And for me, her opinion is the most important criterion in matters of morals.

That is in the family. In science it is Professor Aleksandra Vasilyevna Sanina. It was under her influence that I made up my mind about my profession and switched to the economics faculty.

This is what happened. I was studying at the faculty of physics and mathematics at the Moscow State University. I was a third-year undergraduate and was one of the best students. But I left. You know, I had always been interested in live subjects. I love nature and animals and have an interest in people and their lives. But the world of particles, frequencies, oscillations and charges, in short, the world of nonliving science, was too cold for me. At some particular moment I understood very clearly: it could never become my world. Successes in examinations and excellent assessments were all very well and good, but my dream and quest was another. I rushed about wildly. I went to various faculties—philology, history, philosophy. It needed Sanina, who used to teach political economy, for me to find my place.

It is possible that if I had not changed one science for another my destiny would not have been a bad one. I probably would have achieved some kind of success. But I never would have been as happy as I am now.

[Question] How did it come about that you, a real city girl from the other side of the Moskva River and from a family of professors went on to study social problems in the countryside?

[Answer] My father, Ivan Vasilyevich Karpov, was the son of a peasant. Our family came from the village of Zevnevo in the Kursk district of the Moscow Province. Father was only 26 when he received his degree. He was a very capable man and he became a professor of psychology and taught. And I first went to Zevnevo for a vacation when I was 13. And I suddenly felt at home there. At home with everything. Everything was dear to me—those people, those cottage huts, those fields...

I became involved with problems in the countryside while I was still at the economics faculty. In the scientific student society I immediately chose the agrarian section. It interested me. And I have kept that interest throughout my life.

[Question] And so you became an agrarian expert and traveled to Siberia to Akademgorodok, and found success as an economist. And then you switched to another science—sociology. In other words, you are a decisive person: it costs you nothing to change your profession.

[Answer] I cannot agree that it "costs nothing." Although I am indeed capable of making major decisions in life. But this is precisely why it costs a lot, and I am counting only four of my major decisions. Three were purely business, and one was personal—to get married. Precisely to that man, and to no other.

[Question] Science is the "drama of ideas," according to Einstein. But behind the sciences of this drama, a drama of people is also played out. Could you tell us how the ideas of a scientist are reflected against the events of his life? Please, tell us about what became that famous report about social mechanisms. Why did it cause such a scandal and why did you receive a party reprimand?

[Answer] It really was a scandal. And a reprimand, too. Although everything started extraordinarily peacefully. In 1982 we (several researchers at the Siberian Institute of Economics and the Organization of Industrial production) started to work on the subject of "social mechanisms in economic development." It was then already clear to a large number of scholars that our economy was basically on the rocks. We had to understand why. The economists had offered various suggestions: too much leisure time, not enough equipment...

We were deeply convinced that the reason was social in nature. And it was precisely the social mechanism in development that had to be elucidated. In other words, it was necessary ultimately to consider economic processes as social processes—those that classes and groups are involved in. And interacting. And taking different positions. And having different interests. It was clear that interests stand behind all the processes. But whose interests, and how do they clash? This was not understood. At that time the very idea of a "social mechanism" was new. Much time was needed (about a year-and-a-half) to work up a research project in which we set forth the basic theoretical propositions. And when we had finished it we thought: before embarking on the research itself and moving off along a quite new and unproven path we must discuss the project with a good scientific audience, at a seminar.

¹ In April 1983 scientists from 17 cities came to us. I presented the first, introductory report at the seminar. It was about our project. It provoked an explosion of interest and even some inspiration; people believed that

it was possible to study such questions. A stormy scientific discussion started... And then followed the call from the oblast leadership, and the reprimand. Formally it was for poor storage of service documentation (my own report). I think that if it had happened not in April 1983 but 2 years later there would have been no reprimand.

[Question] A question for you as a leading sociologist: what should be done through effective decisions in perestroika in social relations?

[Answer] Obviously these decisions will be really effective only if they are based on reliable knowledge about the situation and the interests and methods in the behavior of all strata and groups affected.

One very important feature of a socialist society is social justice, which is inscribed on its banner. Both our generation and our children's and grandchildren's generations have grown up to the accompaniment of assertions that our society is the most just in the world. Most of the people convinced of the correctness of these slogans have thought that their interests coincide completely with the interests of the state. This has insured the identity of the personality of most people with society—with its goals and interests. Citizens' loyalty to the state gave it enormous strength both during the early years of Soviet power and during the Great Patriotic War.

However, the strength of the way in which people's behavior depends on their sense of conviction in the justice of the system has also worked in the other direction; when people have seen that practice diverges from the slogans and when the beginnings of social, economic, political and legal injustice are seen. And this has led to alienation of the workers, particularly young people, from official ideology, and often from socially useful activity. Skepticism in the possibility of changing life for the better and in the effectiveness of the struggle against evil, an all-embracing skepticism and not infrequently cynicism among the young and rising generations: this is the price that society is now paying for its earlier mistakes.

This is not an easy time. For we have a shortage of the main living and important resource of perestroika, namely, the enthusiasm and energy of young people, who in principle are capable of restructuring (this is what I think) the entire world. To effect perestroika without this resource is the same as trying to fire off a rocket with no fuel.

[Question] How do you assess the level of our sociology compared to the studies being conducted in other countries? For sociology here was for a long time kept in the background.

[Answer] I do not think that we are behind in all avenues of sociology. On the contrary, it seems to me that in theoretical questions our sociologists are often stronger

than those abroad. How is this? Soviet sociologists hold in their hands a fantastically powerful tool, namely, a methodology based on the theory of Marx.

Not one single scientific school in the West today has this methodology at its disposal. Foreign scholars and experts feel this and acknowledge it. Several years ago a major American economist and sociologist, Neil Smelser, conducted a poll of the best known scholars in the West, trying to elucidate which theory explaining the life of society had gained the most prestige over the past 20 years. About 80 percent of those polled answered Marxism. It is interesting that Marxism was named by 60 percent of the scholars as the most promising of the theoretical teachings in the social sciences. By basing ourselves on the most advanced theory, today we have been able to become more actively involved in solving important problems in our science. And this means providing a realistic picture of the social structure of Soviet society and describing the disposition of social forces relative to perestroika.

The most immediate task is to create a scientifically sound system for studying public opinion, making it possible to improve qualitatively the effectiveness of training, decisionmaking and compliance with decisions at all levels of management.

It must be said, however, that today the level of development in sociology in the USSR is quite inadequate compared with the social requirements.

Taking into account the scale of the USSR, the multinational makeup of its population, and the diversity in the living conditions of regional and social groups, we must have at least 10 sociology institutes of various kinds. And not only in Moscow but also in the capitals of the union republics and the centers of the economic regions in Russia. In fact, we still have only one such institute, namely, the USSR Academy of Sciences Sociological Research Institute.

We are also behind in social statistics. At present we publish only the most primitive data. All the rest are a "secret." True, the USSR Statistical Service has recently been trying to expand its social publications.

Under the conditions of developing and deepening perestroika in social relations, Soviet sociology must acquire scope for development. What is needed for this is a radical change in its status in the country's public life. And money should not be begrudged for this. What is invested will pay for itself a hundred times over. It is not happenstance that all the developed countries fund this science so energetically. For example, France spends a billion francs to study public opinion alone. It is to be hoped that we shall also expand this avenue.

[Question] One last question: what do you think about love?

[Answer] Strong, deep mutual love is the greatest happiness.

[Question] We wish you all the best on the holiday, Tatyana Ivanovna. And on your return to Moscow we wish you a new change in your destiny. We wish you the greatest happiness.

09642

**Kazakh Manuscript Criticized for
Misinterpretation of Nationalism**

183002066 Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA
in Russian 4 Feb 88 p 3

[Article by N. Dzhandildin, corresponding member of the Kazakh SSR Academy of Sciences: "On the Sensitive Subject of National Feelings"; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Excerpts] "The National Question and the System by Which Society Is Managed"; this is the title of a manuscript by S. Adenov offered to the newspaper for publication. In our view, S. Adenov treats questions concerning the development of national relations in the country tendentiously and from erroneous positions. Regarding only his own viewpoint as correct, the author rejects all others. We asked corresponding member of the Kazakh SSR Academy of Sciences N. Dzhandildin to comment on this manuscript. There is a special reason for public and open discussion.

First, the essence of the first group of issues in the way that they are presented by S. Adenov. Under the conditions of socialism, he emphasizes, the real base for the manifestation of nationalism is great-power chauvinism, which supposedly permeates the "bureaucratic management apparatus," pursuing a "great-power policy" against all other nations except for the largest. It is only as a reaction to this policy that the emergence of nationalism is possible in the small nations. The main bearer of this kind of nationalism is the intelligentsia (writers, artists, scientists and so forth), which, in the author's words, "feeds on the labor of the people but is fed through the management apparatus and in most cases is therefore the 'diplomate lackey' of a dominant clique." He asserts that the root of all evils in this social sphere was the "removal" as long ago as the Thirties (as if no one knew!) of the term "great-power chauvinism" and its replacement with the term "chauvinism." Thus A. Adenov wants to say that simply chauvinism can be manifest from any "rank-and-file" nation against other nations that are smaller than it is in terms of numerical strength. And by great-power chauvinism is understood only Russian chauvinism, which supposedly has always been and remains the main kind. Hence is drawn the unambiguous conclusion that the main condition for overcoming any kind of nationalism is the elimination of "great-power," that is, Russian, chauvinism. This is what he thinks and what he writes openly in his manuscript. And as he does so he dogmatically cites Lenin and the party documents

left and right, frequently mechanically quoting out of context the phrases that are "advantageous" to him. As a result, it turns out that the stunning conclusion cited above belongs not to the author of the manuscript but to V.I. Lenin, and is in complete agreement with party decrees on the national question.

Our theoretical arsenal also contains concepts and terms to express them, such as "national narrow-mindedness," "national self-conceit," "national egoism," "national seclusion" and so forth. Without knowing what the content of each of these concepts is and being unable to use them adequately, we often lump them all together and resort quite readily to the "consolidated" terms "nationalism" and "chauvinism."

The general and loud accusation of everyone and everything of "ism-ism," as the author of this manuscript does, evokes a natural protest and deserves the most severe condemnation.

In the international indoctrination of the workers great importance therefore attaches to a clear-cut delineation of people who permit particular errors in their views on particular aspects of national relations, national cultures and so forth, and people who are true nationalists and chauvinists and who deliberately act to the detriment of the cause of strengthening the fraternal unity and friendship of the Soviet peoples.

If a person who is honest and with socialist conviction does not go beyond the framework of the national in his views on the life, history and culture of his own people, and in everything and in every situation invariably defends only the "national soil," as they say, even though he does not set this people against others and does not entertain any kind of hostility or distrust against others, his social lineament and behavior deserve to be characterized as national-narrow-minded, but not nationalistic.

If because of his own lack of breeding rather than out of evil intent, the representative of a nation that is numerically stronger or a nation with a richer historical past regards peoples of other nationalities haughtily and with lack of respect, giving himself some "right" to teach them sense, and in a one-sided manner overemphasizes the value, dignity and merit of his own nation, we are dealing with a obvious manifestation of national self-conceit.

It also happens that a person who is called upon strictly to observe the principles of the equality of nations and nationalities and social justice, in his own practical activity, all other things being equal, gives preference to his own nation and places its interests above the interests of others, and tries with all might to achieve some kind of advantage for it over others. This kind of action is rightly known as national egoism.

Each of these manifestations of national-deviationism exerts a harmful influence on ideologically immature people and not only slows down the process of shaping in them an international awareness in their present condition, as described above, but also holds a serious danger for the future, namely, the possibility in a particular situation (leaving aside the question of criticism) that this condition will grow in nationalism or chauvinism.

Under the conditions prevailing in our society, by nationalism and chauvinism should be understood a clearly expressed antisocialist view in the national question, an attempt to cultivate ideas of national superiority and the national exclusivity of one's own people, and setting one's own people against others, and any actual call for national seclusion, isolation or claims to some privileged position within the system of national relations, and obvious hostility toward the international brotherhood of the Soviet peoples. Any form of nationalism is a direct antithesis of socialist internationalism. Manifestations both of nationalism and of chauvinism stem from isolated individuals and not from nations or other socially organized groups.

For example, the actions of the chief organizers and initiators of the December 1986 events in Alma-Ata, no matter what the motives that prompted them to this crime, were indisputably nationalist. The views set forth in this manuscript being examined are also nationalist. The spoken and printed statements by the "figures" in the so-called "Pamyat" Society and others like it offer an example of completely open chauvinism.

The viewpoints according to which the only source of nationalism is chauvinism are bankrupt on both the scientific and practical planes. These two forms of nationalism are actually interconnected and interconditional. Any kind of distortion or violation of the principle of social justice allowed by people of one nationality against the representatives of other nations evokes legitimate protests and displeasure from the latter. When these distortions and violations go unpunished over a long period, they are perceived as a deliberate disregard of the interests of others, and the reaction to them is painful. In this case the representatives of both large and small nations may find themselves in the role of suffering injustice; in other words, the cause and effect change places according to the nature of the specific circumstances. It is important that while on the one hand correcting the distortions, the same distortions are not permitted in the opposite direction. In my opinion, the attempts seen in some places to oversimplify complex and delicate problems in national policy by transferring them to the arithmetic plane cannot provide any guarantee against such errors. From all standpoints, the consequences can be just as undesirable as those on which work is being done to correct them.

But let us return to our author. A central place in his long discussions is occupied by the "idea" of returning to what is allegedly Lenin's postulation of the question of

setting up autonomous administrative units with a complete, single national makeup in terms of population. He writes the following: "Any violation of the integrity and unity of the national makeup without economic needs and requirements is a violation of the equality of the nations, a manifestation of the great-power aspirations of a bureaucratic management apparatus." Adenov even says that the events in Alma-Ata in December 1986 were the direct consequence of a retreat from this principle, the result of a "policy of artificially regulating relations between the nations in the union republics."

It turns out that we seek in vain for those truly to blame for those events. He is convinced that they are not individual persons but some kind of phenomenon of a national order whose actions supposedly cannot be predicted; and they will in no way end with what happened in Alma-Ata. Adenov prophesies that "the incidents may be repeated in other republics when the inflow of settlers is as high as in Kazakhstan." In order to prevent the possibility of such incidents, he suggests that it is necessary to put an end to the resettlement of citizens from one republic to another and to make the population in each republic a single, homogeneous unit in terms of nationality, as V.I. Lenin supposedly permitted. This is followed by a quote from Lenin's work "Critical Remarks on the National Question." Here it is: "Undoubtedly... what is extremely important in order to eliminate any kind of national oppression is to set up autonomous okrugs, even if they are very small, with an integral, single national makeup... This is all beyond dispute and is all possible to call into question only from the hardened bureaucratic standpoint." (Complete Collected Works, Vol 24, pp 148-149). Lenin did indeed write these words in 1913 during sharp polemic with the Bundists on the subject of the Bruenn national program of the Austrian social democrats, which proposed the division of Austria "into national districts" "to replace the historically rooted Lands." "Undoubtedly," Lenin remarked, "no Marxist, and not even a radical democrat, is about to defend Austrian rooted Lands and Russian provinces and districts.... and will not call into question the need to replace these outdated divisions with divisions, as far as possible (my emphasis—author) according to the national makeup of the population." This remark is found immediately before the words quoted by Adenov. I suggest that the reader turn his attention to the fact that what Lenin was talking about was the preferability of replacing the old administrative divisions in tsarist Russia and Austria, that is, the Austrian Lands and the Russian provinces and districts, according to the national makeup of the population; and this, only as far as possible.

Literally following the quotation cited by Adenov, Lenin follows up with a new paragraph that says the following: "But the national makeup of a population is one of the most important economic factors, but not the only one and not the most important of them. The cities, for example, play a very important economic role under capitalism, while cities everywhere... are distinguished

by the very varied national makeup of the population. To divorce the cities from the villages and districts that are drawn to them economically because of some 'national' factor is absurd and impossible. Therefore, Marxists should also totally exclude it not on the grounds of the 'national-territorial' principle alone." (Complete Collected Works Vol 24, p 149).

What can be said of this kind of arbitrary appeal to Lenin's thoughts with the deliberate intention of distorting their essential meaning? It is an attempt to close off the extremely morbid condition of his own national feelings, which are impermissible and amoral. Second, regardless of the nature of the socialist system (the diversity of the national makeup of the population is now typical not only of all modern cities but also the villages and countryside), to regard as sensible and possible what Lenin considered to be absurd and impossible even 70 years ago is in terms of its absurdity the same as demanding that time be turned backward to "give" us winter again instead of spring.

Under the conditions of developing socialism, in which the economies of the Soviet national republics make up a single economic complex, migration within the USSR is inevitable and prevailing. And Adenov's demands to halt this process by promulgating special laws banning migration (he has written about this in another of his works) and at the same time through economic measures to prevent a person from traveling to another republic because it is unsuitable in material terms is devoid of any kind of real foundation and is a shameful, and moreover antidemocratic, dream. These things are profoundly alien to the internationalist spirit of Marxism-Leninism. And it is precisely these disciplines that the author is preaching in a VUZ.

We may hear the objection that since Adenov's work has not been published, that he merely offered it for consideration, what, one might say, is the need to criticize it on the pages of the press? The fact is that discussions have been held with the author. But he not only refused to acknowledge the error of the views presented but even stubbornly defended them. Moreover, he is evidently quite actively seeking support from as many like-thinkers as possible. He has illegally duplicated one similar piece of work in the form of an individual pamphlet, using an offset duplicator, and sent it to many cities and republics in the country.

This also explains the need to publish this article.

09642

Estonian Officials Confront Problems in Inter-Ethnic Relations

18000310 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 7 Apr 88 p 2

[Roundtable discussion conducted by SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA correspondent V. Ivanov: "The Time of Crucial Decisions has Come for an Entire Complex of Problems in Inter-Ethnic Relations". First two paragraphs are source introduction.]

[Excerpts] Almost 4 months have passed since the day of publication of the editorial staff's "roundtable discussion" devoted to inter-ethnic relations in our republic ("A Sober and Objective View...", SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA, 9 December 1987). The flood of response letters, thoughts and proposals which it evoked from readers has served as the material for a series of newspaper publications: selections and overviews of mail received and individual correspondence. There is no need to list them all. The reader has undoubtedly noticed them and remembered their content. And those who for various reasons did not read these materials will hardly rush now to leaf through several months of back issues of SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA to seek out the indicated issues. Nor is there any need to do so. Time marches on. New questions and problems arise which require in-depth analysis and well thought-out decisions.

This is why the summary of the "roundtable" discussion initially planned by the editorial staff essentially turned into a conversation about our present-day current problems—with an evaluation of the past and an eye toward the future. Participating in this discussion were Estonian SSR Academy of Sciences Academician and Chairman of the Coordinating Council on the Study of National Processes in the Republic Yaan REBANE, Candidate of Philosophical Sciences and Deputy Chairman of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Yevgeniy GOLIKOV, and Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Secretary Ildrek TOOMYE.

[Correspondent]: First of all, I would like to know your opinion on those materials which were published in SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in recent months dealing with nationality issues, and primarily—on the roundtable discussion. Did the newspaper take the correct position, and what can you say about the content of the presentations themselves?

[I. Toomye]: I would only add that we were a bit late, and some of the particularly acute moments should have been discussed much sooner. Unfortunately, for a long time we practically did not deal with the in-depth analysis of the development of national processes in our republic. Otherwise, we probably would not have the acuteness of the problem which, unfortunately, we have today. That we must admit honestly and openly. We can, of course, once again reprimand the social scientists and journalists for their triumphant-parade style which prevailed at one time in illuminating nationality issues. But I believe this would not be quite fair. For many years, all of us held the general impression that the sole criterion for success of inter-ethnic relations was their lack of conflict. This, of course, is a great benefit. But having acknowledged it to be the only one, we had to admit whether we wanted to or not that national existence itself contains a source of conflicts. Is this really true? Evidently not.

The problem is that we were unable to consider in full measure the positive reserves contained in the national forms and multiplicity of our society. The temporary

exacerbation of national problems is yet another signal testifying to the need which has arisen for full democratization of public life. Thus, the press, social scientists and ideological workers who adapt themselves in one way or another to the former conditions must also make a sharp turnaround on this matter. We need an objective, honest and responsible view of life, of life as it really is, and not as it is imagined to be.

Today in our society we feel ever more clearly the clash of different, sometimes opposing, views, evaluations and judgements. This is a new and unusual occurrence for us, and even puts some of us on our guard. And Academician Rebane is absolutely correct. We should not become frightened or reject differences of opinion merely because "this was not so before". On the contrary, such a multiplicity testifies to the growing activity of the people and to the richness of social life. Today it is particularly important for all party and soviet workers, for secretaries of party organizations, and for our electoral active membership to have a clear orientation of the situation, to understand the sense and meaning of what is going on, and to recognize all the responsibility which the changes in social consciousness have placed upon us.

The republic's periodical publications, including your newspaper, today publish many materials which express questions and proposals, sometimes controversial in some way, but nevertheless permeated with the sincere desire to speed up reorganization, to receive immediate results from it—and inevitably in all spheres of life at the same time. This is true also of the national question. Well, we can understand the people. We have kept quiet too long about too many things, or spoken "in a whisper". But we also should not rush, expecting to put an end to all the accumulated problems "in a cavalry charge". We also cannot ignore the rumors, fabrications, and gossip which periodically arises and which is exaggerated and blown out of proportion by certain people, causing irritation. We must react to it immediately, removing tension wherever it arises. And for this there is only one means—sincere, direct and open discussion of the pressing problems and honest information of the broad populace regarding the most acute problems and the outlined means for their solution. The experience of the discussions held in the "Estoniya" concert hall and in the House of Political Enlightenment on 24 February and 23 and 25 March showed that only such a confidential discussion is capable of bearing real fruit and overcoming prejudice and lack of objectivity.

[Ya. Rebane] And here, in my opinion, is another significant shortcoming of preceding years. In many theoretical works (although it is true that this was never directly said, although it was implied from the content), the international was always equated primarily with everything Russian. I repeat: you would never read this anywhere in open text, but an acquaintance with many works allows us to conclude the existence of such a tendency. Otherwise we cannot, I believe, explain, for

example, the proclamation of Russian as being the "second native language" for other nationalities (and not the language of inter-national communication); the underestimation of the role of languages of native nationalities in the life of the national republics; the substitution of the principle of rapprochement of nations and peoples by the principle of their "merging" (i.e., assimilation); the reduction of the role of national cultures to ethnographic "exoticism", etc.

These are, in my opinion, the main shortcomings in the theory and practice of solving the national question which have been prevalent in the last few decades. The task of scientists today is to re-interpret the accumulated experience and to give well thought-out, objective recommendations for correcting the situation. To implement these recommendations in deed is the immediate task of politicians and leaders of the party and state apparatus.

Here is an important clarification. It is primarily writers and scientists who speak out on the national question in the press today, while the party leaders speak out in exceptionally rare cases. Yet it is the practical leaders, the politicians, who can and must make the decisions. Scientists must give an objective analysis of the occurring processes and the prognoses and recommendations stemming from them. This is what we are engaged in today.

[Ye. Golikov] I agree. But, in my opinion, in the presentations of the republic press we see a certain unspoken understanding. Let us, they seem to say, express only those questions which are closer and clearer to us. What is it that is most obvious? What topics are primarily discussed in our press? The conversation centers around the problems of psychology of interpersonal contact, including inter-ethnic, but primarily on an individual level; around the tactics of language study (bilingualism and other aspects of this problem); around problems of information and so forth... In other words, it is those questions which we are able to solve within the foreseeable future—those are the ones we discuss... But it seems to me that all the listed aspects are secondary in their essence. They may not be secondary in importance, but they are secondary nevertheless. This is because those problems which we have in inter-ethnic relations today—starting with Kazakhstan and ending with Nagornyy Karabakh—probably arose not due to shortcomings in the instruction of Russian or the national languages in these republics, and of course not due to the oversights of social scientists. In my opinion, the problems bear a deeper, more structural character.

[Ya. Rebane] Yes, of course. And if we return, so to speak, directly to Estonian soil, then we strive to expose the deep-seated processes. In the past there were efforts to explain inter-ethnic differences in two directions. The first was the misunderstanding which arose between the different nationalities caused by the shortage of consumer goods in the stores, the problems of housing

distribution, and so forth. In other words, the explanations were sought in the shortcomings of everyday life. The second explanation maintained that the reasons could be found in inadequate education.

I don't deny the importance of the above-mentioned aspects, but nevertheless I would like to affirm that it is not these which comprise the deep-seated foundation of the emerging problems.

The main reasons are hidden in socio-economic and demographic factors. The national-ethnic processes are determined by the overall socio-economic and political development of the republic. And in this plane, we must honestly admit, in the 40-odd years of existence of Soviet rule in Estonia no one has given serious attention to the national processes or to their management. Socio-economic development was planned without any consideration for its national-ethnic consequences.

[Correspondent] The question of phosphorites has pointed out many of our "sore points". Some are prone to dramatizing the situation to extremes. Soon, they say, there will be no land at all left in Estonia. The farmer will have nowhere to turn... Is it true that today this problem, as I understand, has been resolved for at least the next 30 years?

[Ya. Rebane] Possibly, although I'm not quite sure. I don't share the inconsolable pessimism, but you must agree that those who express such fears certainly have grounds for them.

The fundamental method of solving the demographic problem is the transition to intensive development of the national economy and economic forms of production management to replace the administrative-directive ones. And also, all the processes associated with reorganization in all spheres of the life of society must be tied in with the national-ethnic peculiarities of the given region. This task was mentioned also at the February Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee.

In this respect, the protection of the republic's environment and the struggle for its normal demographic development are certainly not "local" and not "nationalistic" manifestations. It is true that such a position contradicts the departmental interests of certain union ministries, but it does coincide with the all-people's interests—just as the protection of the Baykal, the demand to revoke the turning of northern rivers, and other environmental protection actions do.

[Correspondent] So, having felt out the most important key problems, can you already today give us some specific recommendations for untangling them?

[Ya. Rebane] Some things we can already say now. But there are still many things which we should study. The reasons which lie at the root of these problems are too serious and deep. Today we speak only of the necessity of

creating a special republic commission or council on national questions, which would include scientists as well as leaders of social practice.

[Correspondent] And yet, are there some spheres in which your ideas and proposals already find practical application?

[Ya. Rebane] As a rule, these are still individual, specific questions, as for example the program for improving the state of Estonian-Russian and Russian-Estonian bilingualism. Our recommendations were considered to a certain degree also in developing measures for limiting unjustified migration of the work force into the republic from beyond its boundaries...

[I. Toomye] I would like to add something here. Today we are striving to see that all workers who deal on a regular basis with people—in the sphere of trade and services, in medicine, as well as in those institutions where there are frequent visitors (gorispolkoms, rayispolkoms, party raykoms, organs of the militia, social provision, etc.)—have a mastery of two languages, Estonian and Russian, regardless of their own national affiliation.

[Ya. Rebane] I recall the thought expressed recently in the press by one physician. A doctor who does not speak the same language as his patient has one-tenth the chance of making a correct diagnosis as compared with a veterinarian...

[I. Toomye] And this is really true. But let me continue. This condition will be necessary in determining the professional suitability of a worker employed in the above-listed sectors.

[Correspondent] I recall that in one of the letters in response to the "roundtable discussion" a reader expressed the following proposal: to give a salary bonus for knowing a second language, as for example, the crews of ships sailing abroad receive bonuses for knowing a foreign language.

[I. Toomye] We have not officially reviewed such a variant. But today many rights are granted to the Laws Governing the State Enterprise (Association). Thus, the Labor Collective Council is fully within its rights to adopt such a decision and to establish—within the limits of the wage fund—such mark-ups, and no one, I believe, would object to this.

[Ya. Rebane] However, I personally believe that a bonus is a small incentive for mastering a second language as a language of communication. It would be much more effective, although stricter, to make such a condition a mandatory professional requirement for certain specialties. Of course, this will require time. We cannot hurry in this matter...

By the way, since we have previously touched upon the methods of limiting the migration process, I would like to direct your attention to the following instance. After all, the limitation of residence permits for Tallinn, based on the realities of the present day, was introduced in the interests not only of the Estonian population, but also in the interests of the non-Estonians living here, who now already slightly outnumber the Estonians in Tallinn. After all, the influx of more and more new people into the republic's capital means an exacerbation of the problems of housing, food product supply, and provision of places in kindergartens and nursery schools for all the city's residents...

[I. Toomye] Also, I would like to stress that the limitation of residence permits is only a partial measure which allows us to take a breather and find a more effective, substantiated, well thought-out and truly democratic solution. Like any directive-prohibitive measure, the limitation of residence permits will not solve the problem in and of itself, but in time may even give rise to certain "circumventing maneuvers", new infractions and abuses. This, unfortunately, has already occurred. But this is not the main thing. We cannot view the limitations which have been imposed as being national-discriminatory. The republic, and specifically Tallinn, is "suffocating" as a result of poorly balanced economic and social development. This process must be affected administratively, while the economic levers are still not effective. At the same time, we must also mention the national aspect. The Estonians are a people few in numbers, and as such are concerned with the preservation of their national environment.

[Correspondent] Comrade Toomye, this question is addressed directly to you. In some letters our readers complain that Estonian television and Estonian radio have selected inconvenient times for Russian language broadcasts. "Current Camera" is aired at 6:30 p.m., when most people are on their way home from work or have just come home, while the radio broadcasts in general begin at 12:30... Moreover, today there are rumors circulating to the effect that the newspaper SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA should be abolished altogether, since it does not meet the task of informing the Russian-language reader about the affairs and concerns of the republic, and that a translated variant of the newspaper RAKHVA KHYAEL should be published instead. What can you say about this?

[I. Toomye] First of all, in regard to radio and television broadcasts, I believe that there is a definite problem here. But I believe that the Estonian SSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting is capable of solving it without our special directive. As for the closure of the newspaper SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA... Even if we consider this seriously for an instant (and, I must admit, this is not easy), we must remember that the mechanical translation from Estonian into Russian will in no way satisfy the needs of the Russian-language reader. After all, we must understand the peculiarities of

the national psychology and perception of information, which a translated variant of RAKHVA KHYAEL can in no way handle and which is attainable only for a totally independent Russian language press organ, which I might add, has a fully definite level of professionalism of its workers and its own traditions, as does SOVETS-KAYA ESTONIYA. So, believe me, the workers of your editorial staff are not threatened with unemployment... It is another matter that some of the complaints about your newspaper are valid. I believe it would not be a bad idea for the Russian and Estonian publications to form a truly "united front" in the publication of materials regarding inter-ethnic relations, to "smoothe out" and coordinate in their journalistic media the principle questions and complex aspects of these relations. They should do this with a single noble purpose—to avoid inaccuracies and possible psychological errors in such publications. We must see that the tasks of reorganization—in the sphere of the republic's socio-economic development, in national relations, in environmental protection and the preservation of historical monuments, and in improving the quality of life and culture of human relations—are understood synonymously by the representatives of all peoples living in the republic. For this purpose, all the publications must put forth great effort.

[Ya. Rebane] I would like to return to the question of economics. You understand, it is much easier and simpler for the leaders of the central departments and ministries to open new enterprises in Estonia than somewhere in Siberia or in the nearby oblasts of the non-Chernozem zone. Here we have a well developed infrastructure. The provision of food products and consumer goods is organized somewhat better than in the other regions. Thus, there will also be no problems in gathering a work force... So the prerequisites are created for the increased influx of more and more new residents into Estonia. Your newspaper recently published an extensive article on this topic ("Migration", SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA, 18 March 1988—ed.), so I will not expound in detail on this topic which is worthy of separate and more in-depth discussion.

Excessive, objectively unjustified migration is a problem not only in Estonia, but in many other regions of the country as well. However, we must proceed from the fact that we will continue to have two basic national-ethnic contingents: the Estonian and the non-Estonian. The goal must be not their "merging", but rather their rapprochement, their mutual enrichment, their integration in all respects: in linguistic communication, in cultural exchange, in a knowledge of each other's history, geography, and so forth. Such work is being performed, but it should be decisively improved. There are quite a few shortcomings. For example, the republic Ministry of Education has not yet been able to ensure the proper input into this cause by Russian language schools in Estonia. And we are speaking not only of Estonian language instruction, but also of familiarizing the students with Estonian culture, history, economics, and the geography of the republic...

As for the means of mass information, the task of Russian language publications, in my opinion, consists of instilling in their readers a respect and love for that region where they live so that they may more actively participate in the solution of the common problems of Soviet Estonia—their "little Homeland". Naturally, Estonian newspapers and journals must, in turn, instill in their readers similar feelings toward the representatives of other peoples residing here. In general, inter-ethnic relations are a delicate topic and we must act very carefully, with an open heart and with a keen spiritual "sense" in dealing with them. And along with the solution of fundamental economic and social problems, we must not forget the individual person, his pride and sense of his own and his national dignity.

Where am I leading this conversation? We must in each individual case approach decision making in a strictly differentiated manner. There are no singular recipes or recommendations for all situations, nor can there be. We must think, we must weigh all the "pros" and "cons". The time has come to make deep and crucial decisions.

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Uzbek Procuracy, MVD Hold Session on Law Enforcement

18000361 Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian
21 Apr 88 p 2

[UzTAG report: "To Strengthen the Health of Society"]

[Text]The tasks of the republic's law enforcement organs in fulfilling the CPSU Central Committee's resolution "On the State of the Fight Against Crime in the Country and on Additional Measures to Prevent Violations of the Law" were discussed at a joint meeting of the UzSSR Procuracy and the UzSSR Ministry of Internal Affairs in Tashkent. Leaders of all oblast subdivisions of these departments participated in the meeting.

The meeting was opened by the Procurator of the UzSSR, D. A. Usatov.

The report of the republic's Minister of Internal Affairs, U. S. Rakhimov, and the speeches of the other participants emphasized the need for closer coordination in the efforts of all law enforcement organs to prevent and fight crime and violations of the law.

It was noted that questions of strengthening state discipline are particularly topical today. The problem of cleansing the republic's cadres of the rust of corruption, permissiveness, and mutual protectionism has still not been solved. Recurrences of misappropriation, report-padding, and bribe-taking are common. Law enforcement bodies also are showing little aggressiveness in fighting for the greater health of society.

Restructuring in the Ministry of Internal Affairs has not yet reached full strength, although there have been positive changes. Precinct inspector services and the material bases of subdivisions have been strengthened. Internal affairs organs have been forced out of zones closed to glasnost. All of this is reflected in work indices. A tendency towards a reduction in the crime rate, which was first observed two years ago, is being maintained. During the first quarter of this year it was reduced in the republic by 8 percent. The numbers of serious crimes, incidents of hooliganism, repeated crimes, and other types of offenses have been reduced. The struggle against speculation has been somewhat intensified.

However, there are still many shortcomings in the work of the militia. This is testified to by the results of a recent popular opinion poll carried out by the mass media services of the republic. Almost 3,300 letters have already been received, and half of them contain complaints against improper actions by MVD officials. They have all been investigated and about 50 per cent of the complaints have been verified.

Many militia workers lack culture, competence, and efficiency. The organs of the State Motor Vehicle Inspectorate and internal passport offices have become mired in bureaucracy.

There are many unresolved problems in the investigation organs. The number of crimes that are solved, particularly thefts from apartments, is still low. Officials in the Administration for Combatting the Embezzlement of Socialist Property and Speculation still carry out investigations slowly and frequently in an unprofessional way. The effectiveness of the campaign against major misappropriation and bribe-taking has declined significantly in the capital of the republic and in the Tashkent, Samarkand, Fergana, Supkhan-Darya and Kashka Darya oblasts. Those present at the session emphasized that in the conditions of the complex restructuring of economic management, law enforcement officials must bring the system of economic education up to a qualitatively new level. It should be ensured that every official in the field of law enforcement has completely mastered the methodology of economic-legal analysis.

At the session it was noted with great alarm that the numbers of violations of anti-alcohol legislation and the numbers of crimes committed in states of intoxication are again increasing. In many cases the work of the militia is reduced to the imposition of punitive measures and sanctions. Little use is made of the influence that labor collectives and society can have on lawbreakers. On the other hand, less than one half of the proposals made by militia organs on this topic are given consideration at enterprises and organizations.

Crime prevention work remains on a very low level. For example, when a group of criminals who had been convicted for stealing from apartments was surveyed, half of them affirmed that even before committing these crimes they had been at odds with the law, but had never been registered in police records.

The growth of the number of crimes committed on the streets is also alarming. One of the reasons for this is the weakening of ties between the militia and society, the insufficient control and coordination of the activities of the volunteer people's militia and other organizations. On paper these volunteers are many, but on the streets in the evening — few.

The participants emphasized that to improve the state of law and order it would be necessary once and for all to renounce the unsuitable methods and devices of previous years and to renew the entire arsenal of ideological influence on the restructuring of the system of law-enforcement organs.

M. Kh. Khalmukhamedov, a secretary of the UzSSR Central Committee, spoke at the session.

V. K. Pankin, chief of the USSR Main Directorate of Criminal Investigation, took part in the session.

Public Opinion Survey On Antialcohol Measures Reported

18300240a [Editorial Report] Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian on 9 April 1988 carries on page 1 a 2000-word article by Galina Shilova, deputy chairman of the Central Council of the All-Union Voluntary Society for the Struggle for Sobriety, which lists some results of a public opinion survey on the antialcohol campaign. The survey was conducted "in all union republics" in 1986 by the Center for the Study of Public Opinion at the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute for Sociological Research. Forty-nine percent of those surveyed were in total agreement with the antialcohol measures; 26 percent agreed with the measures, but felt that even stronger and more decisive measures could be applied; 14 percent agreed in part with the measures, but considered them excessively strict; 1 percent disapproved of the measures.

Illegal Trade At Railroad Stations Conducted By Deaf Citizens

18300240b [Editorial Report] Moscow STROITELNAYA GAZETA in Russian on 8 April 1988 carries on page 4 an 800-word article by N. Panchenko, an employee of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, describing the sale of "illegal goods" at railroad stations. Items such as lipstick, shoe polish, and floor wax, often made from stolen goods, are sold to train passengers and local railroad workers. According to M. Kurkin of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, "Of all those engaging in the preparation and sale of illegally manufactured goods, as a rule, 90 percent are deaf."

Estonian 'Popular Front' Movement Described in Television Broadcast

18000363 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 3 May 88 p 3

[Interview with Feliks Undusk, chief editor for propaganda for Estonian Television; television commentator Khagi Sheyn; program editor Renita Timak; by SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA correspondent V. Ivanov: "Prompted by Life"]

[Excerpt] The first program of the Russian-language Estonian Television series "Why the Tree Needs Roots" was aired on 30 April. The purpose of the series is to acquaint the non-Estonian population of the republic as extensively as possible with the history, traditions, culture, economics and problems of the land that for many has become a second home. One can argue or agree on certain points with the creators of the program and with its participants, but one thing remains certain: its appearance on television answers the most pressing needs of the day.

One more event was recorded on the "blue screen" on the eve of the first of May. The participants of a special program in the television series "Let's Think About It Some More" gathered at the studio for the direct broadcast of the show. These included the program's authors and discussion leaders: Feliks Undusk, chief editor for propaganda for Estonian Television; television commentators Khagi Sheyn and Reyn Yarlik; academician Viktor Palm; Tartu University docent Maryu Lauristin; and other representatives of the action committee for creating the popular front in support of the policy of perestroika. On the eve of the day of the international solidarity of workers, they addressed the population of the republic with an appeal to consolidate the efforts of all active supporters of perestroika and the renewal of socialist society.

After the program, our correspondent V. Ivanov met with F. Undusk, Kh. Sheyn and Renita Timak, one of the editors of the program. We offer our readers a transcript of the conversation that took place.

[Ivanov] I believe that during the program you, Khagi, addressed in Russian those viewers who do not speak Estonian and explained that since the show had been prepared with some expediency, its authors did not have time to provide a translation of the Estonian, and for that reason there will be a repeat discussion in the near future, this time for Russian-speaking viewers. Perhaps it would make sense even before this program to give our readers at least the most general idea about the goals and substance of the movement to which you are introducing us.

[Undusk] You defined its essence very aptly with the word "movement." In its structure, if we begin with its "external" characteristics, it is precisely that—a large-scale democratic movement in support of perestroika. As

opposed, let us say, to the democratic union proposed by some circles in the country, a union whose organizers see as a socio-political organization. The 26 April issue of the paper YKHTULEKHT—Evening Tallinn—published an interview with Boris Kurashvili, head research assistant at the Institute of Government and Law of the USSR Academy of Sciences, in which he speaks about the premises for the origin of the idea of a union, about its goals and the about the possible means for its realization. It has much in common with our ideas, but there is one, in our opinion, essential difference. We speak about a movement, which does not assume an obligatory, formal membership and leadership organs which carry with them the real danger of degeneration into a bureaucracy with all its resulting consequences...

[Ivanov] Does this mean that the popular front is conceived of as a movement built entirely on a social basis, on sheer enthusiasm?

[Sheyn] Today the idea itself is still only being discussed, and at this stage we are trying not to give any—even approximate—formulations, neither about the organizational structure of the popular front, nor with respect to its program, statute or other formal features. True, the Tartu paper EDAZI published, if one can put it this way, a model declaration which charts the basic directions of the popular front's activities. But these, I repeat, are only general outlines, and everyone has the right to introduce changes, corrections, additions...

It would be wrong to have the impression, however, that we cannot conceive at all how the new movement should carry out its functions. At the republic level, we think, a minimal apparatus will be necessary in any case.

[Ivanov] And now—a little more detail about what the popular front itself will be directly involved in?

[Undusk] There were certain mistakes, you see, and errors in reckoning, and falling short of goals in the republic in the preparation of many decrees and decisions. For example, this happened with the general plan for the management of the national economy. The recent session of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet showed that the proposed plan was not thought out completely, and does not take into account all the particulars of the present time. One can say the same, more or less, about certain other projects which affect the political, economic, demographic and ecological situation in the republic. In our opinion, this happened because the broad strata of the Estonian population, regardless of their party, professional, national, religious or generational affiliation, did not participate in the discussion over these kinds of projects. It is precisely to eliminate such "gaps" that the popular front in support of the party policy on perestroika was called for, as conceived of by its organizers.

[Ivanov] The Estonian CP CC Buro and the presidium of the Estonian Supreme Soviet, as we know, support in principle the idea of such a movement. It was deemed expedient to hold discussions in the republic on the question of the further democratization of social life, and also on ways to stimulate the initiative of citizens to expand and deepen the process of perestroika and glasnost. And how did viewers react to your appeal to mass audiences on 30 April?

[Timak] I personally answered the calls we received on phones set up in the studio during the direct broadcast. I, together with another editor of the program, received over 200 calls that evening, including calls not only from Estonians, for whom this first program was primarily intended, but also from many Russian-speaking viewers. And there was not one person who expressed disagreement with our stand. Some expressed doubts about specific points, some suggested their own additions and corrections, but everyone basically supported the undertaking by the organizers of the popular front. This means that life itself proves the timeliness of the emergence of this idea.

[Ivanov] And the last question. There is much talk today about the necessity of practical bilingualism. I personally was struck by the thought that the idea of a popular front, which could be joined by (or be attached to the movement on some level) any citizen of the republic, regardless of his national identity, this idea could turn out to be a natural stimulus to learning a second language. Not compulsory, as conceived for certain professions, but dictated by the internal necessity of interaction in solving problems common to all of us.

[Sheyn] Your impression, I think, is more than correct. And practical bilingualism is only one of the aspects of the popular front's positive program. In general, we are talking about precisely this—the general consolidation of all progressive forces in society, all who not just in words but in deed are interested in the absolute success of perestroika.

From the editors: We propose to all our readers not to wait for the airing of the Russian-language version of the program "Let's Think About It Some More," which will be devoted to the creation of a popular front, and join the discussion on this topic now. You may express your opinions, suggestions and wishes in writing or by telephone.

Azerbaijan National Relations Council Holds Meeting

18300236 Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian
29 Apr 88 p 2

[Azerinform report: "Discussion of Problems Concerning Interethnic Relations"]

[Text] The Azerbaijan SSR Academy of Sciences Presidium's Scientific Council for Problems of National Relations met in joint session with the editorial board of the

journal AZERBAJDZHAN KOMMUNISTI—KOMMUNIST AZERBAJDZHANA. Scholars, specialists in the field of national relations, historians, lawyers, economists, psychologists, ethnographers, literary and art critics, and journalists participated in the meeting.

Regional problems of interethnic relations and ways and means of resolving them within the context of restructuring and the democratization of social life were discussed at the session.

Reports were read by D.P. Guliyev, doctor of historical sciences and director of the Party History Institute attached to the Azerbaijan CP Central Committee; Dzh.B. Guliyev, Azerbaijan SSR Academy of Sciences academician and vice president; P.A. Azizbekova, Azerbaijan Academy of Sciences academician and director of the republic Academy of Sciences Museum of Azerbaijan History; Z.A. Samed-Zade, corresponding member of the Azerbaijan SSR Academy of Sciences and chief of the Azerbaijan CP Central Committee Economics Department; F.K. Kocharli, Azerbaijan SSR Academy of Sciences academician and department head at the republic Academy of Sciences Institute of Philosophy and Law; F.F. Kasumzade, doctor of philosophy, professor, and department chairman at the S.M. Kirov Azerbaijan State University; and others.

Among the measures needed to improve national relations a significant role is played by the solution of regional economic, social, and cultural development problems, which have become particularly relevant under conditions of restructuring and acceleration. A rational combination of concern for economic and social development in each union republic and in each economic zone and an increase in their contribution to the development of our country's single national economic complex, to the unity and monolithic nature of the multinational Soviet state, are problems which, as was indicated at the 27th CPSU Congress, must be resolved consistently. The scholars discussed a broad range of topical issues concerning the history of interethnic relations, the economic, social, political, cultural, and sociopsychological aspects of interethnic ties among the peoples of the Caucasus, and ways and means of solving the problems that arise.

In addition, it was noted at the session, at the present time there does not exist a well-constructed scientific conception that could provide a key to studying and managing interethnic relations at the regional level. This issue has not been addressed to any great extent in the scholarly literature, either. It was emphasized that scientific efforts must be marshaled to investigate interethnic relations at the regional level, and that this aspect should be viewed as significant for the development of the party's social and economic policy at the restructuring stage.

As was noted at the session, M.S. Gorbachev's appeal to the workers, to the peoples of Azerbaijan and Armenia, contains principled positions, conclusions, and assessments which should lie at the foundation of scientific-research work and of all ideological activity pertaining to the study, analysis, and elucidation of problems of interethnic relations and to the education of working people in the spirit of friendship among nations.

Over the course of 2 days the session participants exchanged opinions on various problems having to do with interethnic relations and chose avenues for further scientific activity.

The results of the session were summed up by A.F. Dashdamirov, chairman of the Azerbaijan SSR Academy of Sciences Presidium's Council for Problems of National Relations, corresponding member of the Academy, and chief of the Azerbaijan CP Central Committee Propaganda and Agitation Department.

The proceedings of the scientific session and the talks given by its participants will be published in upcoming issues of *AZERBAYDZHAN KOMMUNIST*—*KOMMUNIST AZERBAYDZHANA*.

Armenian Minister Updates Lake Sevan, Arpa Water Tunnel Situation

18300222a Yerevan *KOMMUNIST* in Russian
8 Apr 88 p 1

[Interview with Yu. Dzhavadyan, ArSSR minister of reclamation and water resources, by Dzh. Balagezyan (Armenpress); date and place not specified: "The Arpa Once Again Flows to Lake Sevan"]

[Text] The first millions of cubic meters of water from Kechutskiy Reservoir, after traversing the 50-kilometer width of the mountain range, flowed into the fabled sky-blue waters of Lake Sevan. After an interval of almost two years, the unique Arpa-Sevan tunnel was once again in operation. Information on the tunnel's operation was kept on the desk of Minister of Water Resources Yu. Dzhavadyan, and no wonder—republic hydro-engineers, upon whom depend in large part the harvest of the fields and vegetable gardens, had been waiting for this day with special concern. The years during which the tunnel was closed for repairs had demanded of them the utmost effort to find new sources of water supply for agriculture. These last two years have demonstrated that with the efficient use of water resources it is possible to develop republic agriculture successfully even when the primeval supply from Lake Sevan is curtailed, as the minister indicates in the following remarks.

Today the republic's water supply is reassuring. Republic reservoirs are full, according to reports, and there are quite a number of them. Large and small, they number 76. They hold a greater accumulation than they did last

year at this time. Such a water supply situation creates conditions for relieving Lake Sevan to a significant degree during the irrigation period.

[Question] The problem of Lake Sevan is associated with the successful operation of the Arpa-Sevan tunnel...

[Answer] For almost two years, as we know, the Arpa-Sevan tunnel was under major repair, and it was necessary for the level of the lake to be lowered. The press repeatedly expressed apprehension about this. This did no harm, however, for an integrated approach was taken in the republic to the problem of Lake Sevan.

Let us recall what the Arpa-Sevan tunnel contributes. On the average, it discharges 220 million cubic meters of water per year. But to irrigate the land within reach of it, twice as much water is used and more. Over the two-year period when the tunnel was not in operation, according to projections, the level of Lake Sevan would go down about 30 centimeters—a situation fraught with grave consequences. That is why the Armenian CP Central Committee and the republic government undertook supplementary measures, including measures for restricting the amount of water discharged from Lake Sevan, but without any loss to agriculture. These as well as other measures—carried out, I repeat, in an integrated manner—made it possible not only to keep the level of Lake Sevan up to its previous mark but to raise it by about 14 centimeters.

[Question] Tell me please, in order to grasp the significance of these 14 centimeters about which you speak, what is the value of a centimeter?

[Answer] Raising the level of the lake by one centimeter means increasing its capacity by about 13 million cubic meters of water. The question arises: Where do the tens of millions of cubic meters come from if the tunnel is shut down for repairs? In the first place, as already pointed out, the discharge from the lake was quite limited. In the second place, Lake Sevan, as you know, is a real lake, which continues to be fed by its own natural tributary.

The great success of our branch workers lies in the fact that under difficult conditions of inadequate supply they managed to find supplementary sources for supplying agriculture with the amount of water that was essential to their needs. In a very short time they brought about a rearrangement of the drainage system in agricultural areas fed by Lake Sevan. Virtually every cubic meter of water was put to use through the reservoir storage system, together with the construction of new pumping stations, thereby increasing effective capacity. This would not have been achieved if we had not been able to make an adequate inventory of the irrigation system to pinpoint sources of unproductive water loss so that we might make up for them.

These measures enabled us to find water reserves, fully compensating for the shortage in water from Lake Sevan during the period of rebuilding the tunnel.

[Question] How is the Arpa-Sevan tunnel operating now that reconstruction is complete?

[Answer] In the history of the building industry there has never been such a difficult hydro-engineering project to build and under such difficult conditions. Operation of the tunnel had brought to light unresolved problems and prompted new ideas, which were used in the reconstruction process. The tunnel today is extremely reliable; it is literally crammed with sensors and other electronic devices to manage the system of operation and monitoring. It may be said without exaggeration that each second that the tunnel is operating at peak performance, which is now the normal mode of operation, is under the untiring control of computers, which independently make the decisions required. At any given moment specialists are able to "see" through their monitors the condition of the entire system, and the links in this complex chain of installations, from Kechutskiy Reservoir all the way to the lake—including the "behavior" of the internal rock deposits, the distribution of the dynamic load, and so on.

[Question] So the Arpa-Sevan Tunnel is once again in operation. What lessons can be drawn? What predictions can be made?

[Answer] As they say, it is not happiness but unhappiness that comes to one's aid. The past two years, in which we were obliged to seek and find, put into operation, and efficiently exploit new water resources in order to relieve Lake Sevan, while continuously replenishing the natural water supply, taught us a great deal. First, we learned how to get along while refraining from the use of more than half the irrigation water from Lake Sevan without loss to agriculture. For the first time in all these years the discharge of water from it was held to the very minimum. Second, finding and putting into operation these resources is of great help in sparing the waters of Lake Sevan in the future. Despite the fact that the tunnel is once again in operation, bringing the water of the Arpa River to the lake, the discharge from the lake will be strictly limited even in the future. The system has been further aided and abetted by positive efforts in the efficient use of water for irrigation on the part of most water supply management personnel in Echmiadzinskiy, Masisskiy, Shaumyanskiy, and Ashtarakskiy rayons.

With respect to predictions, we should use a certain amount of caution. Nevertheless, I venture to say that if we succeed in maintaining the level of what the Arpa-Sevan Tunnel already achieves, by the end of the Five-Year Plan, another tunnel will be in operation for the transfer of water from the Vorotan River; and that by carefully using all the water resources of the republic, less and less water will be withdrawn from the lake, with the

result that by the end of the century the level of Lake Sevan will rise by 2-3 meters, as projected in the comprehensive scheme for the efficient use of the lake's natural resources.

[Question] A final question, Yuriy Levonovich. What organizations took part in rebuilding the tunnel?

[Answer] In the first place, there is the international collective Arpasevyanstroy, within which there were more than twenty different peoples of our country represented. Designing the reconstruction project involved a vast program of scientific research, and dozens of union institutes and institutions likewise took part in it. To mention them all is quite impossible. All of them contributed great efforts, energy, and knowledge, deserving of the highest praise.

The labor collectives of Glavarmvodstroy and the production association Armgazprom are also worthy of commendation for their efforts in expediting the efforts of the Lake Sevan project.

12889

Attention to Pollution of Tributary Waterways Urged

18300222b Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
10 Apr 88 p 2

[Article by IZVESTIYA correspondent A. Shcherbakov: "The Little Rivers Will Perish—If Departments Are Deaf to Ecology and Social Problems"]

[Text] Krasnoyarsk Kray—Until a way is worked out to save the rivers, lakes, and woods that are now being threatened by industry, it would be well for them to have a defender with authority. Let us say, at a difficult time, for the Ob a Zalygin could be found—for Lake Baykal, a Rasputin. There are staunch advocates for the Volga, the Aral Sea, the Neva, and now and then scholars and writers raise their voices on behalf of Father Yenisey. But who will stand up for the little rivers?

Who is there to intercede on behalf of the rivers that engender and nourish the Baykals, the Arals, and the Volgas? Of course, a writer or an academic could not be assigned for each one of them. The Yenisey alone has about a hundred thousand tributaries—say, ten for each member of the country-wide Communist Party. And for that matter, why should some outsider be called upon to come to their defense? Do the little rivers not have their own lawful proprietors who are duty-bound to safeguard their purity and good health?

Proprietors there are—in the local Soviets of People's Deputies—but their impact leaves something to be desired. The official concerns of those charged by law with undertaking an ecological study for each construction project are stifling their sense of civic responsibility.

Many tributaries in the Yenisey basin now cry out for their pitiable lot. Grounds for complaint about their fate can be found in the case of almost each one of them. But I will take as an example only one of these—the Rybnaya River.

When our forefathers "baptized" this river, little did they know that the name in time would take on such bitter irony. Now it is not simply a matter of fish. Even leeches are not to be found. The little river began to take ill almost thirty years ago when it was intersected by the Abakan-Tayshet "route of courage," and Sayanskaya Station arose along with an excellent settlement. The railroad workers at that time even put up a purification plant. There was no biological purification, only a mechanical system consisting of two sedimentation tanks to disinfect the drainage—still, it was something. Much water has flowed downstream since that time. Many stations and settlements have sprung up. A second route has spanned the river. Yet the purification plant has remained the same. It now operates with three times the load; it has faulty equipment frequently out of order, and obviously cannot cope with its tasks. According to a report from the Rybinskiy Rayon sanitation station to the rayispolkom, "the purification of drainage does not even reach 20 percent of effectiveness." Every day thousands of cubic feet of run-off water go directly into the Rybnaya River.

Downstream there are dozens of settlements and water intake systems; there are three pioneer camps; there are hay fields and pastures that periodically become flooded. In the summer months it is better now to approach the river from the windward side, preferably with a gas mask. Nevertheless, domestic animals drink from it, and youths swim in it. Outbreaks of stomach disorders are not uncommon here.

Why is it that local soviet authorities do not speak up? That is not to say that they are altogether silent. Stormy meetings have been held on more than one occasion in the villages, and deputies have made appeals to the rayon soviet and to the Abakan Division of the railway. The Rybnaya rayispolkom and the party raykom have been conducting a long and fruitless correspondence with the departments. I will not quote from epistolary works of art written during the "period of stagnation"; I will cite only selected quotations from the period of restructuring. After the second rail line had been laid, and yet no one had made a move to build the facilities specified in the social project estimates, including purification plants, in November 1986 the rayon leadership sent a telegram to the USSR Ministry of Railways and Transport Construction, arguing that "without construction at Sayanskaya Station of a boiler house, purification plants, and sanitation system, the erection of production facilities and living accommodations is out of the question.... We therefore request a review of this matter and the inclusion of these facilities in the construction plan for 1987."

Five months later, the department charged with construction of the railway responded with a letter of compliance, in the sense that the facilities were to be included in the plan for the following year, but only upon condition that the project design estimates be submitted prior to 1 July of the preceding year. However, inasmuch as there was no documentation available for the purification plant and sanitation facilities at Sayanskaya Station... "the question of their inclusion in the construction plan for 1988 was looked upon with favor."

July passed, and as Autumn approached, once again there was ambiguity with respect to their "inclusion" in the plan. In October 1987 a letter addressed to V. A. Brezhnev, minister of transport construction, was sent over the signatures of G. Anisimov, first secretary of the Rybinskiy raykom, and A. Kulev, chairman of the rayispolkom. The motives were the same, but the tone was even more imploring. "The volume of shipments has grown, and the population has almost tripled," they wrote. "We therefore request your personal participation in determining the fate of the settlement and in providing under the 1988 plan for commencing construction of the boiler house and purification plant."

In a month N.K. Isingar, the deputy minister, after punctiliously enumerating the social welfare projects on the estimate list, informed them that the Abakan Transstroy Trust had been designated as the contractor, and that "preliminary operations in the construction of a boiler house, purification plant, and an apartment house with 650 units" had been ordered under the terms of the 1988 plan as amended. In Rybinskiy Rayon there was briefly some cause for rejoicing, and even a spark of hope. But a quarter of the new year went by, then another quarter, spent waiting, as they say, for the other shoe to fall. The Abakan Transstroy Trust simply continued to ignore their instructions from above. Once again the raykom and rayispolkom made their obeisances to the ministry mentioned. "In view of the extreme necessity," they said, "we request the inclusion of the facilities stipulated in the plan for the current year as previously promised."

It is a sad story, but, alas, a most typical one. As I slam shut the dossier, I picture this enormous country made up of cities, villages, and stations in the thousands, and from each one of them, like snow flying backwards, and upwards, a stream of paperwork to the main administrations, the committees, and the ministries. And they all have the same purpose—to say, for God's sake, don't forget to include the social programs! What a heap of messages our comrades in the ministries must receive from all over. Why is it that they are so "forgetful" when words ring from every rostrum regarding powerful social policy, the fallacy of the residual principle, and the human factor? They say that the money, materials, and work force are lacking. Very well, if they are lacking, let us cease building altogether. There has been enough economizing on the health of a person—on the roof over his head, on the air he breathes, and on the river from which he drinks.

"Why is it that the rayon soviet does not show off its authority?" I asked A. Kulev.

"The rayispolkom refused to sign the act authorizing the introduction of the second rail line," he said. "So what? It didn't matter. The purification plant is choking as before, and drainage flows into the river."

Soon the river will overflow and inundate the fields and pastures. Domestic animals will drink it, and youths will swim in it. Maybe, among them, one day a Zalygin, a Rasputin, or an Astafyev, say, will grow up and defend the river. Meanwhile, there is nothing to be done. The railroad line is a concern of the state; the river is a local affair. And the local soviets are not about to put a monkey wrench in the wheels of bureaucratic progress.

12889

Press Conference on Results of 'Baltica-88' Environmental Conference

18300194a Leningrad *LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA*
in Russian 16 Mar 88 p 3

[Article by I. Sidorov: "Together We Must Help the Sea: Thoughts on the Public Ecological Forum 'Baltica-88'"]

[Text] "This is probably the first attempt to gather together public ecological organizations in the Baltic region and unite their efforts in the struggle to save the Baltic Sea from pollution," said the keynote speaker. "It is to be hoped that all speakers adhere closely to the theme of our conference."

With the expression of this wish the public ecological forum Baltica-88 began its work last Saturday in the Palace of Culture imeni Ilich. The words of the opening speaker, as subsequent events made clear, were extremely apropos. However, let us consider everything in its proper order.

Approximately 400 persons attended events in the Palace of Culture during the course of two non-working days. Scholars, writers, and specialists, as well as non-official representatives of Leningrad, Riga, Tallinn, Vilnius, Moscow, and a host of other cities, gathered in the hall to discuss the long-term prospects of the Baltic and to try to find a way through common efforts to preserve what is one of the most ecologically vulnerable seas in the world.

A roll call of "sore spots" in the Baltic basin resounded in the hall. Lake Ladoga is becoming polluted; the Kurskaya Kosa inundated with oil; the Daugava River threatened by industrial wastes. And are we really the only ones in the area with problems? Ecological problems know no frontiers, and it is not without reason that the Baltic Sea is called the "sump of Europe." The danger of further developments in this direction is

acknowledged at the international level. It is for this reason that the countries of the Baltic basin have through joint efforts been monitoring the conditions of the sea.

In what way can the public be of help? If state governments and the scientific community are engaged in dealing with the Baltic, are efforts by the public useful? The answer, it seems to be, is clear. In difficult situations no kind of help is superfluous, and experience of recent years has shown that public monitoring of major projects in progress and environmental protection activities is simply essential. It is sufficient to recall the epic and now celebrated reversal of the northern rivers.

"One of the principal problems of our forum is to direct the relationship between government organizations and non-official public-interest groups into constructive channels," I was told by Petr Kozhevnikov, leader of the group called DELTA and one of the organizers of the conference. "We have long been in conflict over matters of principle, but there is no time for pointless and irrelevant arguments. We must work together—and together help the sea."

"It is good that you are willing to meet them half way. But what about the scientists and specialists? Have they shown any interest in activities on the part of the public?" I asked.

"Judging by the number in attendance who responded to our invitation. I would say yes."

Moreover, in terms of representation, other major conferences might stand in envy of this public forum. Present were workers representing approximately 50 scientific institutions (and not in Leningrad alone), together with a majority of state institutions engaged in monitoring ecological conditions and the organizations drawn from the public. It was curious to observe, sitting in the same row with solid citizens wearing neckties, extremely youthful, long-haired hippies with armbands on their sleeves bearing the words "Green Patrol."

As curious as it might be to observe this juxtaposition—and there were other opportunities that lay ahead—it was not so significant as appraising the outcome of the meeting. In my opinion, two things were of greater importance: the substance of what was talked about and the manner of presentation.

The range of subject matter for discussion was extremely broad. Anda Ansvek, representing a Riga club for the protection of the environment, spoke of the struggle with the principal source of pollution of the health resort of Yurmala—a cellulose and paper combine. The leader of a Leningrad group named "World Watch" proposed the establishment of cooperatives at the enterprises for protecting the environment. A research associate with the Institute of Theoretical Astronomy of the USSR Academy of Sciences, A. Tron, described an interesting experiment in ecological training on the basis of self-financing.

A. Lizerovskiy, a writer, set forth the concept of the primacy of ecology in carrying out engineering projects. There was controversy about the Leningrad dike and about the fate of unique natural phenomena.

Addresses were given by scholars, by specialists, and by "non-officials." So, what do you think—the two days passed smoothly and quietly as at an academic conference? To be blunt about it, the answer is no. The keynote speaker had been correct in calling at the very outset for speakers to stick as close as possible to the main theme.

As it happened, there were also provocative outbursts and speeches that were obviously not on the chosen theme. I would divide these into two categories. Certain comrades simply did a poor job of thinking out what they were going to say. Since experience in forums of this kind is still not very great, this is readily forgivable. But there were some who took the floor for altogether different purposes than to discuss the problems of the Baltic. Those present for their part reacted rather sharply to attempts to sidetrack the discussion, saying, in effect, there is no time for pointless controversy—let's get down to work! These absurd outbursts did not produce a lasting impression on anyone in particular. Yet the discussion itself was useful. And that could prove to be of far greater importance.

Finally, the conference did not come to a standstill at the point of discussion. It adopted a resolution for the establishment of a privately sponsored international committee to deal with ecological problems of the Baltic Sea. It also envisioned the establishment of a fund for the Baltic, based upon voluntary contributions from private citizens striving to protect the sea. How much of all this will be realized? Do the organizers have the responsibility and follow-through that is needed? Time will tell.

At the conclusion of the Baltika-88 conference, I asked a few participants to give me their personal impressions.

S. Tsvetkov, engineer at the Institute of Oceanography and Delta member: "The forum, I feel, fulfilled the objective. Our contacts with the specialists have been strengthened, and their interest in closer cooperation with the public is growing."

V. Donchenko, manager of the Center for Ecological Safety of the Leningrad Scientific Research Center, USSR Academy of Sciences: "I consider public participation in protecting the environment a matter of great importance. It is a power that will expedite measures being taken for environmental protection in opposition to the entrenched departmental approach."

V. Bresler, doctor of medical sciences, Institute of Evolutionary Physiology and Biochemistry imeni I. M. Sechenov, USSR Academy of Sciences: "This may seem strange, but I personally am for public surveillance of

engineering and scientific activities. Widespread glasnost is a form of such surveillance. It is essential, because the absence of principles of restraint often deprives science and engineering of basic human values, and then we reap a bitter harvest."

Not everything, of course, worked out successfully for the organizers of the conference. But another thing, I think, turned out to be of importance. The conference demonstrated that ecological problems of the Baltic region excite an extremely diverse group of people in terms of age and occupation, and that many are ready to contribute their expertise and energies to the common cause. One curious detail: In the same hall in which during the day there had been passionate arguments over how to save the Baltic, late in the evening a group named 'Along the Limpopo,' made of of very young, skinny fellows in fat sweaters, sang a song, not only for the assembled hippies, but for the scholars and scientists as they listened in astonishment to the following words:

There, where we are going,

Among objective things,

It's like misunderstanding

The heart of nature

The song, when it was over, won applause both for the excellent music and for these bitter but just words.

12889

Nizhniy Tagil Ecological Concerns Spark Public Debate, Activism

18300194b Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 27 Mar 88 p 2

[Article by B. Kortin under the rubric "Ecological Situation": "The Last Drop: Public Opinion Versus Departmental Narrow-Mindedness"]

[Text] The streetcars of Nizhniy Tagil have recently carried announcements, printed by typewriter, inviting the public to attend an old-fashioned "popular assembly". During hockey matches at the Ice Sports Palace, announcers repeatedly reminded the fans of the forthcoming public event. And the large-circulation newspaper of the Uralvagonzavod Industrial Association made this appeal: "If the future of your city is of concern to you, if you hold dear the health of your child, if the ecological situation in Nizhniy Tagil is not a matter of indifference to you, attend the meeting to protest the pollution of the atmosphere."

No, nothing catastrophic has occurred in this industrial center of the Central Urals. Nor has the ecological program been lacking in direction. On the contrary, high-priority measures are being carried out in the city,

designed to reduce the discharge of harmful particles discharged into the atmosphere by 10 percent. Nature, however, has not been helped by such a rate of reduction previously.

And suddenly, this protest meeting—the attention of thousands focused on the coke by-products industry of the Nizhniy Tagil Metallurgical Combine imeni Lenin (NTMC). The sources of this concentrated attention go back to those far-off days when organizations undertaking the projected development of the combine had only just begun the work of reconstruction.

Driving in the first stakes at the site of the powerful coke-oven battery, the builders anticipated that the country would receive a savings of a million tons of blast-furnace raw materials, and the city would receive clean skies and clear water. The technology of the complex being erected provided for a smokeless stoking process, a dustless production yield, and biochemical purification of the drainage system. The designers of the State Research and Design Institute for the development of coke products in Kharkov, proudly enumerating the advantages of their creation, claimed that it would enable coke workers to reduce the discharge of dust by 25 percent, carbon monoxide by almost as much as one-half, and ammonia by one-third.

For the sake of these advantages it was worth rolling up one's sleeves. The best builders in the Urals showed up at the building site. The city had no labor collective, and there were no subbotniks held here. It was simply explained to the residents of Nizhniy Tagil that the startup of a new coke-oven battery here meant the shutdown of two old ones, which each year discharged into the atmosphere about 7,000 tons of harmful substances into the atmosphere. After their work shifts, on their days off, hundreds of workers arrived to help with the building project.

The first coke-oven battery was turned over for operation one month ahead of schedule. I want to underscore the point that all units and assemblies were subjected to the closest scrutiny when inspected by the All-Union Coke By-Products Center before being accepted. No deviations from prescribed norms were detected.

The point is that a surprise lay in store for the much-vaunted project. The battery of coke ovens began to breathe heavily. The ovens, as advertised, proved to be smokeless and dustless, but the ventilation system failed. Defective products by the machine-builders exacerbated the situation. All 142 coke-oven doors manufactured by them failed to seal the oven chambers, and gas spewed forth.

A stream of telephone calls, letters, and telegrams flew in the direction of high-ranking personages, but everywhere the answer was: "Measures are being undertaken."

And indeed the metal workers did not wait upon events. They rebuilt the system that had failed. They adjusted the output of dustless production. They breathed life into that most vital artery of the complex, the slurry discharge system. And they struggled to control the ill-fated oven doors.

However, many people could no longer believe in the magic measures allegedly being undertaken. The breathing of the Nizhniy Tagil industry could be heard in the apartments of the city dwellers. The people could see the results of what the combine had achieved in the discharge of noxious substances in the city, which reached a ratio 91.7 percent—more than one and a half tons for each resident of Nizhniy Tagil.

With a sense of pain A. Trubin, an open hearth steel mill worker, wrote: "I receive more than 300 rubles in pay for the fact that from one shift to the next I am poisoning a beautiful city situated in the picturesque Ural mountains. And the reason is as old as our habit of being all-forgiving. The production plan at any cost! I stand at the control panel, and when tongues of flame shoot out of the oven, I see it is beginning to 'choke.' In order not to hamper the smelting, there is one thing to do—open the pumps and vent the smoke. Yes, release the smoke in the atmosphere over the city."

Specialists have calculated that the economic loss resulting from pollution of the atmosphere by the NTMC amounts to approximately 23 million rubles.

And how do we measure the effects of the 80 million rubles spent for the purpose of "raising the productivity of labor," which is paid in medical benefits each year to mothers for the care of their sick children?

Questions of honor and questions of conscience are not of concern to Andrey Trubin alone.

The coke workers told me with bitterness that in the workshops of the enterprise there were placards posted saying that for each minute of work time, so much output was to be produced. Yet the ecological cost of this same production cannot be known. They recalled that when the units of the oxygen-conversion complex started to "choke" because of atmospheric pollution, an air pipe was installed extending from the rayon park for recreation and leisure over a distance of several kilometers to them on the grounds of the plant. Then when the time came to amend the projected task for reconstruction of the enterprise during the current Five-Year Plan, only .55 percent of all funds allocated were earmarked for preserving air quality and improving labor conditions of the metal workers.

No, the intent look of the city dwellers as they considered the problems of the combine was not incidental. The issue was inescapable: Public health organs had given permission for the construction of the ninth coke-oven

battery on Nizhniy Tagil land only on condition that the two old units were to be shut down. There could be no talk of concurrent operations of the old and new units!

The USSR Ministry of Heavy Metallurgy was not to be deterred by guarantees on this score. As early as 1984 the deputy chief of the all-union association, V. Krivoshein, had informed parties concerned: "The Union of Metal Workers envisages the shutting down of obsolete coke-oven batteries No. 1 and No. 2 six months after Battery No. 9 is placed in operation." As we see, their obsolescence was recognized even then.

More than one six-month period, however, passed after the first new coke-oven battery was turned over for operation in December 1986. Yet the ministry was in no hurry to meet its obligation.

The Public Health Service, the Public Prosecutor's Office, and the regional state office of inspection in the Urals for maintaining air quality made efforts to oppose the arbitrary disregard of the established timetable. Meanwhile, there was a commission at work in the city, attached to the RSFSR Council of Ministers Presidium, for environmental protection and the rational use of natural resources. As a result of its activities, once again an announcement was made to the residents of the city: The two first units were to be shut down prior to the beginning of 1988.

The USSR Ministry of Heavy Metallurgy, heedless of the voices of those who live in the Urals, relied as before on the extra coke output of Nizhniy Tagil. In the form of a state order distributed to country enterprises, the activities of the NTMC were made directly dependent upon the shipment of commercial production. If these batteries were closed without amending the plan, it was maintained, interdependent production plants would be let down, depriving them of the resources for their own development, including development of environmental protection projects. It is not a simple matter, you will agree, under conditions of cost accounting and self-financing.

Here are the words of combine director V. Novikov, exhorting the workers as he explained the situation in the pages of TAGILSKIY METALLURG: "No one is permitted to alter the tasks of the Five-Year Plan....Has the tragedy of Chernobyl taught us nothing? There they risked their lives. But we want to close a coke-oven battery that is capable of operation."

Many of the metal workers do not accept the position taken by the combine director, nor do they understand the subjective appraisal of enterprise managers that Battery No. 2 is fully capable of operation. A commission of experts in the field more than half a year ago termed it "vulnerable to serious accident."

These evaluations—"fully capable" and "vulnerable to serious accident"—are far from compatible. But there is little to be said if the plan is sacrosanct, except to call this "restructuring," and so they continue to look down their noses at problems of ecology.

But the residents want to go on living in the city. As Valeriy Cherdynstev, chairman of the gorispolkom, said of the developing situation, "There is a battle brewing." A public meeting was held, attended by many thousands of the city's residents. For the first time I witnessed speeches by a series of people who really wanted to express themselves. What did they talk about? About restructuring, about developing democracy, and about formalism, which restricts our forward progress. About callous disregard of duty for the sake of a cherished percentage of success. And, most important, about the health of human beings and their inherent worth. Responsibility for the present troubles was attributed to the deputies of the local soviets, who were called to account regarding the fulfillment of instructions with respect to ecology.

Among those participating in a frank and impartial discussion, which lasted for many hours, were S. Shutov, a sheet-metal worker with the NTMC, N. Duzenko, an adjuster with the Urals Coach Plant, V. Glusko, a physician, and I. Baranov, a student in the 10th grade.

The speakers demonstrated some supercilious attitudes, reflecting self-complacency and a tendency to rely on others. Dozens spoke, and not one spoke out in this fashion: "My dear countrymen, I believe our targets on the ecological front are as follows...and I accept the obligation to carry them out." Glasnost turned out to be one-sided, putting responsibility on the shoulders of others. And the truth had a half-hearted ring as the "city fathers" were called upon to provide an objective assessment. Members of the party gorkom buro and the gorsovet ispolkom were present at the meeting, but none of them rose to take the microphone, despite the fact that the gorkom and the city Soviet of People's Deputies have a specific program of conservation measures. Where, if not at such a meeting, would they turn to their compatriots to launch it? Yet they remained silent!

What did the meeting demonstrate? For Yevgeniy Sushilov, first secretary of the party gorkom in Nizhniy Tagil, it was not an easy question to answer. "Political work," he replied, "requires conviction, and a knowledge of how to conduct one's self. It indicated that we are not ready for a dialogue of this kind. We are used to doing things in the old way, where everything is done in a very orderly way 'by the numbers,' and everybody knows his place. The transformation of public life requires innovation—non-stereotyped responses and conduct. The lesson learned with respect to democracy requires us to study political activity that works."

The city dwellers have felt the impact of this lesson. The city newspaper TAGILSKIY RABOCHIY carried a one-page spread of ecological glasnost—exposing effectively to public scrutiny evidence of neglect on the part of particular officials with respect to conservation measures and projects. The residents of Nizhniy Tagil are also informed of the activities of the city's coordinating council for ecology. And perhaps the most important indicator is that the long-awaited event has happened. On 10 March, NTMC Coke-Oven Battery No. 2 was shut down.

12889

Irkutsk Obkom 1st Secretary Urges More Komsomol Work in Ecological Affairs

18300214a Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 31 Mar 88 p 1

[Article by Vladimir Matienko, first secretary of the Irkutsk Obkom Komsomol: "Who Is the Master of the Taiga?"]

[Text] Here is a fact: Judging by the results of sociological research conducted not long ago by the Komsomol Obkom, 70 percent of the young people assess the ecological situation in their cities and rayons as bad. But here is the usual paradox—only 7 percent of the 50,000-strong army of Komsomol activists of the oblast take part in the nature protection movement. . . . Again an enormous gap between what concerns Komsomol members and what the aktiv is engaged in. And we all set our hopes on the absence of "an arsenal of forms and methods" and on the lack of "progressive experience at the local level". From where is all this to appear if our youth leaders at times remain in lethargic idleness?

Who will take up the protection of nature today, who will be in the forefront later on, if the Komsomol aktiv believes that this matter concerns anyone you like, only not itself?

What is the reason for this? Let us be open. Of course, the absence of a competent organizer, formalism, and the poor work of many public associations. But most of all, I believe, the reason lies in the view which has taken root in consciousness that nature must be protected by someone—the director, the raykom, the ispolkom, newspapers, scientists—only not I. That plants and combines pollute rivers and poison the air, what does it have to do with people, especially with me? The very time, when public opinion and personal position proved to be powerless before orders given along "official channels", removed from people the desire to assume responsibility themselves. Also, from childhood on we were told over and over again that our rivers are the cleanest and most full-flowing, that the air is polluted only in the capitalist countries, that our mineral resources are inexhaustible, and that all this will be with us forever. We convince ourselves of the fact that it is not "forever" of every

hour, that our rivers are not the cleanest and that our mineral resources are not so bottomless is also apparent to the naked eye, and we understand that it pays to learn a little from the capitalists.

And here, reflecting together on the complexity of the ecological situation and analyzing the data of sociological research, we decided: Only concrete environmental protection measures will help everyone to feel useful in the common work. In the rayons and cities of the oblast, we have determined the most important environmental protection projects and have taken up, not the "forms and methods", but deeds: The prevention of the pollution of rivers and the cleaning up of their shores, the carrying out of forest restoration work, the improvement of natural recreation zones, the development of tourist itineraries on the territory of the Baikal National Park, the creation of ecological detachments and inspection groups for the protection of nature, participation in the reconstruction of the Round-Baikal Railway and the creation here of an open air museum, and, finally, a campaign for abolishing ecological illiteracy on all levels.

But the question is legitimate: Will not here, too, the terrible substitution of the concealed large-scale destruction of nature by the detail of small restoration operations take place? Indeed, any of our words and deeds will have a minimal effect if they will not begin to be supported by general reasonable economic activity. You see, if the lads will save, for example, the small Vikhorevka River, but the Bratsk Timber Industry Combine every day will dump tons of poison into it—there will not be any sense in such a "struggle" for the purity of nature and in such ecological education. This will be ecological demagoguery, with which we will also in the future "manage" on earth. It is extremely dangerous. It makes it possible to go too far in detail and not to think in broad terms. To be satisfied with the little, the permitted. It cultivates the habit "not to show oneself."

Any great misfortune begins with a little one, and so any great undertaking begins with small, but concrete undertakings. It is important that everyone, from worker to director, from student to rector, should feel and understand: Tomorrow already nothing will help us.

And there is one more thing that I would like to talk about. People are concerned about the fate of nature in their native land, the future of their children. Sometimes there, sometimes here various public movements and societies arise today. But for some reason the joining of the "people in the square" and the people in the offices is not taking place. And, I believe, it will not take place as long as we, the leaders of the young people, will sit in our offices, until we go to them, not indifferent and concerned, in order to argue together openly and honestly, to search for truth, to provide correct information and to receive real food for our own reflections, not to make appeals but, together with those "70 percent", to go and do.

To head up the work.

But this very concept—"to head up the work" has been valued only as a variety of abstract leadership, under which the appearance develops that directions and telephone calls themselves move the work forward. But in actual fact everything has stayed in place....

Now—we are catching up.

But there is fear. It is much easier and more habitual—I know this from myself—to transmit instructions through subordinate intermediaries than to come out with one's own position before hundreds of eyes.

And for me personally a great deal is still not clear. A great deal is missing. I do not wish to give a soft and pleasing appearance. We must learn. Learn to make public opinion decisive. And not to be afraid of this.

Irkutsk.

From the Editors. We are appealing to the committee of the Komsomol, to the ecological detachments and the members of the volunteer public order squads—carry out voluntary Saturday and Sunday work to prevent the pollution of rivers and lakes and to clean up their shores. This is especially important now—during the period of the active thaw of the snow.

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UzSSR: Debate Over Compensation for Aluminum Plant Pollution Damage

18300214b Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian
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[Article by N. Shulepina, UzTAG correspondent: "The Sariasie Drama: Losses and Lessons. The Government Commission That Has Studied the Reasons for the Calamity and Its Dimensions"]

[Text] The conclusions are discouraging: The damage being inflicted on the south of the oblast by the aluminum plant located in the city of Tursunzad is on hand. The chairman of the union ministry declared: "The comrades from Uzbekistan were not able to substantiate their claims."

Said not without reason.

Of course, the measurements of the permanent posts and and expeditions of the Uzbek Hydrometeorological Administration (Uzgidromet) were constantly being sent to the interested authorities. There they estimated the approximate damage: A minimum of 35 million rubles. But neither the Ministry of Public Health, nor the State Agroindustrial Committee, nor the Surkhan-Darya Oblispolkom confirmed this figure through precise calculations. For this reason, the final sum of the damage remains unknown.

The first signal of alarm came from Sariasie, 5 years ago. The local residents wrote to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the republic: People began to get sick more often, infant mortality was rising. The cattle suffered, the silk-worm is perishing. The unripe persimmon is falling off the trees, the harvests of peaches, pomegranates, cherries, and sweet cherries have fallen fivefold. . . . They linked these calamities to the harmful effluents of an aluminum plant that has appeared on the border of two republics. Having verified the signal, the representatives of the government of the republic, the Hydrometeorological Service, and other organizations agreed with this. Yes: The average concentration in the air of such toxic gas as fluorine was 6-8 times higher than the maximum allowable concentration.

When they instituted the regular control of the plant effluents, the situation began to change to some extent. But when they introduced new capacities, the share of harmful gases in the air began to grow. Now the new management of the enterprise is energetically fighting to reduce the harmful effluents: Last year, the hydrogen fluoride was "only" two times higher than the sanitary norms.

Close the plant? In Surkhan-Darya and Tashkent they talk a great deal about this. But is this a state-organized approach? Even the same loud "defenders of nature" very much like to fly in airplanes which, you see, are built of aluminum. . . . Thus, the point is not to force other people—the same Soviet citizens—to breathe fluorine. But to make precisely this plant clean once and for all. That is the first and main lesson.

But in order to make the plant clean, it is necessary to know what and on what scale it pollutes. And this is what cannot be established in Surkhan-Darya. No one has concerned himself for years on end with the evidence. Therefore the controversies.

Is the crop productivity falling? "But, you see, you are introducing many times more than the norm of chemicals." Severe pollution of the atmospheric air? "But, you see, there is no gas in the rayons, everywhere coal-fed boilers, the Shargun Coal Briquette Factory and plants of the construction industry are smoking." Do they get sick more often? "But, you see, there is no sewer system, no water-main. There are no baths, the medical services have been neglected."

All of this is true. The industrial effluents have been superimposed on a depressed social background. This they have both not noticed and do not want to notice. Happiness is to shift everything to someone now....

There has been time to take measures or if only to calculate the damage. Kh. Sharafutdinov, the deputy chairman of the oblispolkom and now also the chairman of the oblast agroindustrial committee, already in 1983 could have organized an assessment of the losses and

submitted a bill to the plant—the data for this were presented to him by the natural environment control service. What prevented him from acting?

"Measures" were taken: They started to lower the plan for the production of agricultural produce for farms. Where the silk-worm died out, they removed the plan for cocoons. And this is all for the time being.

Such complacency is completely incomprehensible.

As is incomprehensible the indifference of many scientific institutions of the republic. Only the Central Asian Scientific Research Institute for silk-worm breeding saw in the Sariasiya drama a serious problem. And it was its data alone which the government commission took for examination.

The specialists for the protection of atmospheric air submitted their dossier to it. The content of fluorine in milk, blood, finger-nails, and produce, herbariums with burnt leaves (a high concentration of fluorine), photographs of sick cattle. This made an impression. But the commission never did obtain the necessary figures. Including from the physicians.

The information presented by the Ministry of Health in general sketched a favorable picture: The indicators for mortality and the sickness rate usually vacillate "up" and "down", the trend is not clear. Whether the plant is at fault cannot be proved. With this the commission departed. But now a new information sheet is ready—and it contains different figures. Which of them are true?

Although to a smaller extent, the Tajik territory, too, suffers from the effluents of the plant. But there the managers and the public did not hold endless discussions but at once took action. They presented the plant with a bill, demanding compensation for the damage inflicted. There is no hiding from rigorous arguments. And here a decision has already been taken: To allot the first 40 million rubles for the creation of a sanitary zone around the city of Tursunzade. The scientists of Tajikistan have developed recommendations as to how to use this territory. 160 types of plants have been proposed for use as filters that absorb fluorine. Among vegetables, they have proposed to grow potatoes and carrots, which do not

become saturated with fluorine. Settlements will be moved out from the industrial zone at the expense of those who did not concern themselves in good time with the purification of the air.

Here is where we should learn from our neighbors!

No, one cannot now accuse the plant of not trying to improve the situation. Since October of last year, the concentration of fluorine in the air finally came down to the norm. The Tajik metallurgists are prepared to support at their own expense a control laboratory, which the nature protection service of Uzbekistan is already creating.

But this is not much. Lost health, alas, cannot be returned. Still more disappointing is the fact that, because of the heedlessness of officials, those who have suffered have to date not even received compensation. But, you see, for these millions of rubles one could build preventive clinics and hospitals, improve municipal services, organize special nourishment, and create the kind of sanitary zone which is already springing up in Tajikistan.

In our republic, 20 scientific research institutes are studying the Sariasiya drama and its lessons. There is hope that the situation in Denau and Sariasiya will change for the better. On the condition that the second lesson will be drawn from what has happened: No matter how bitter the truth about the state of the medical and sanitation and social spheres in those regions—it must be acknowledged, divided from the general picture, and stated aloud. I would like to believe that the scientists will not let us down. And this will make it possible to correct the situation.

This discussion would end on a festive note, but here is the latest news: In the Institute of Soil Science and Agricultural Chemistry of the UzSSR Academy of Sciences they intend to stop research on fluorine in the soil of Surkhan-Darya Oblast: "There are considerations"...

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